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FRANCISCAN PIONEERS AMONGST THE TARTARS

Whilst St. Francis of Assisi was preaching *pax et bonum* in the Umbrian plains and cities and his first followers were carrying the same peaceful message to the peoples of Europe, a dense cloud arose in the Far East. Though seemingly very remote, it soon threatened to settle over Christendom and destroy all that the name implies. It was the "Yellow Peril" of the thirteenth century. In 1206, Ghengiz Khan, the mighty chieftain of a Tartar tribe, was proclaimed Great Khan or Emperor of all the Tartars by the diet of his nation held in the heart of Asia; as such, he continued his conquests in Northern China, taking Peking, then called Khanbalic (the town of the Khan), in 1215. A little later in 1219, he turned his armies towards Western Asia and subdued all as far as the Caspian Sea and southward to the Indus, whilst his generals penetrated into Russia, Georgia and Armenia.

After the death of Ghengiz in 1227, Okkodai, his son and successor (1227-1241), first followed up the subjugation of China and then moved towards the West with an immense force. One division of this army subdued Georgia, Armenia, Persia and Asia Minor; another great host under Batu, the nephew of the Great Khan, conquered the countries north of the Caucasus, and carried fire and slaughter westward. A large detachment under the

command of a lieutenant of Batu entered Poland, burned Cracow, took Breslau (which had been evacuated and burned by its inhabitants) and defeated the united forces of Poland, Moravia and Silesia at the battle of Wahlstatt (1241) near Liegnitz, where many brave Christian knights lost their lives. Meanwhile Batu himself devastated Hungary and captured Pesth, which he burned, putting all its people to the sword. The news of these invasions, with their consequent destruction and wholesale slaughter, horrified the whole of Europe which now seemed exposed to the ferocity of the Tartars (*filii Tartari,* Sons of Hell, as they are called by the chroniclers of the time, their real name being Tatar). But the wave of barbarism was suddenly halted. The Great Khan Okkodai died in the depths of Asia, whereupon his armies were recalled from Europe.

Although the immediate danger had passed away, the future was gloomy and uncertain, and a remedy had to be looked for to avert the threatened calamity from Christendom. As ever in such cases in the Middle Ages, the world turned to the pope for help. There were three ways to ward off the impending danger. The first was to revive the spirit of the crusades which had not yet died out, and to resist the Tartars by force of arms. As a matter of fact, immediately after the battle of Wahlstatt, crusades had been preached in various parts of Germany as in olden times. But just at that moment Papacy and Empire, whose united action would have been necessary for carrying out such a plan, were hopelessly divided. The two other ways were more peaceful: the one, to begin diplomatic negotiations, with a view to establishing friendly intercourse between the pope, then the exponent of European politics, and the Tartars; the other, to make an effort to gain the Mongols for Christendom by missionary work.

Both these latter methods were tried by the popes; and St. Louis IX, King of France, also attempted diplomatic relations. Instrumental in these designs were the new forces which had arisen in the Church through St. Dominic and St. Francis—the Friars Preacher and the Friars Minor. These two Orders, more

especially the Friars Minor or Franciscans, gave the Church those wholehearted travellers and fearless missionaries who made the journey from Central Europe to Central Asia or even to Peking, either wholly by land, or by land and sea, facing innumerable dangers and enduring great hardships. Innocent IV (1243-1254) opened the series of diplomatic negotiations with the Tartars, which, with interruptions, were to continue till the downfall of the latter in 1368. No considerable practical result was, however, at any time obtained by these efforts. The same is to be said of the missionary work. There were no conversions on a wide scale among the Mongols, although some of the Great Khans and lesser Khans were friendly to the Christians, and almost all of them were tolerant. Theirs was rather an attitude of eclecticism, whilst the so-called Ilkhans of Persia became in the course of time Mohammedans.

The records of the diplomatic and missionary endeavors amongst the Tartars, the journals of the friar-diplomatists and missionaries, are in great part preserved, and have often been the object of critical studies and painstaking editions and translations. *Cathay and the Way Thither* is a celebrated work in English geographical literature, edited first by Sir Henry Yule in two volumes of the Hakluyt Society (London, 1868), and more recently revised and edited by the distinguished scholar, Henri Cordier, in four volumes by the same Society (London, 1915-1916). This monumental work contains a collection of old texts relating to China, the Cathay of the Middle Ages. Marco Polo, however, "the prince of medieval travellers" as he is called by Yule, is not included, but both he and his book, called *Milione*, are treated by the same author in a separate work, revised and re-edited by Henri Cordier (London, 1903). Needless to say, the first mentioned work also contains texts by ecclesiastical authors and missionaries, carefully studied and edited. But Yule's point of view is that of historical geography; indeed he shows little interest in the missionary work, often the chief concern of the original writers. Hence his high appreciation of

Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant, who scarcely ever mentions the missions or missionary prospects in the marvelous record of his journeyings in Asia.

There was ample room, then, for a new collection from the special standpoint of the history of the missions. This has recently been brought out in a scholarly way by Fr. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, O. F. M., as the first volume of a series of documents bearing on the Franciscan Missions in China: *Sinica Franciscana* (Vol. I, Quaracchi, College of St. Bonaventure, 1929, pp. cxviii–637, octavo). This volume, comprising all the original texts writen by or on the Franciscans in China during the Middle Ages, is only an introduction to a greater collection of documents on the Chinese Franciscan missions from the seventeenth century down to about 1820, but it has a value and a character of its own. For the first time we have here a *Corpus* of Franciscan itineraries and letters concerning the Mongols and the missions amongst them. Though the primary interest is with the missions, other points are not neglected, either by the missionaries or by the editor.

In fact, if one except Marco Polo's immortal narrative, written (1298) originally in French [1] and soon translated into various languages, these missionary reports are practically the only sources of our geographical and ethnological knowledge of that remarkable people the Tartars, who for some time commanded the greatest empire the world had as yet seen. The Franciscan diplomats and missionaries were keen observers, and it was through them that Europe first got a fair insight into the civil and military organizations as well as into the religious beliefs and folklore of the Tartars and of many other peoples whom they met in their travels. This accounts for the fact that geographers and ethnologists have paid great attention to them, and that they have brought out most of the editions. Fr. Van den Wyngaert was able to avail himself of all these former editions for the illustration

[1] The latest edition of the old French text, and which is at the same time an edition *de luxe*, is: Marco Polo, *Il Milione, prima edizione integrale a cura di L. F. Benedetto*, Florence, Olschi, 1928, pp. ccxxi-283 in folio.

of his texts, which he bases on the best manuscript authorities. His edition, therefore, surpasses all the preceding ones and will be the standard work for a long time to come.

Its general plan is as follows. After a short preface comes a list of manuscript sources (pp. xxiii-xxv) and then a full bibliography of the whole subject (pp. xxv-xlii). A general introduction follows, with chapters on the history of the Mongols and on their attitude to religion, whether their own or that of foreigners. The next two chapters deal with the Tartar invasions of Europe and with the embassies and missions sent to them. Several appendixes give us information about the missionary methods employed to win the Tartars to Christianity, on Prester John, and on the geographical term India in the Middle Ages, a name that often occurs in the missionaries' accounts.

Having thus first cleared the way by dealing with subsidiary matters, Fr. Van den Wyngaert comes at last to his own special purpose, namely, the editing of eleven more or less extended texts, arranged in chronological order. Here again each text is preceded by a special introduction dealing with the life of the author and of his work from different viewpoints; sources, value, manuscripts, editions, special bibliography, and finally the *ratio edendi*. The texts themselves have a double range of notes giving variant readings and illustrative remarks. A full index of proper names (pp. 579-637) and a map of Asia conclude this remarkable volume, which embodies a tremendous amount of painstaking scholarly work.

After this general survey of the contents of the collection, let us now glance at the single authors and their itineraries, reports or letters. (In the following pages we quote Van den Wyngaert's collection as W.)

I.

The first Franciscan who came in close touch with the Tartars, and who has given us the earliest description of their life, manners, politics and religious beliefs, is John of Pian di Carpine, a Franciscan from among the very first group of the Order (W., 3-130).

His birthplace was Pian di Carpine in the district of Perugia as Salimbene (*Cronica*, ed. Holder-Egger, M. G. H., SS., 32, 210) tells us. This place is generally identified with La Magione, a small village with a great castle of the Knights of Malta, on the east shore of Lake Trasimene.[2] John certainly joined the Franciscan Order before 1221, since in that year he was sent on the German mission. The Provincial of Germany, Caesarius of Spires, sent him in the same year with a certain Friar Barnabas to Würzburg, Mainz, Worms, Spires, Strassburg and Cologne to see to the establishment of the friars in those towns. The following year John was appointed Custos of Saxony and as such founded several friaries in the North of Germany. Finally, in 1228, he became provincial of the vast undivided German Province, which office he held till the Chapter of Assisi in 1230. In this chapter he was chosen as Provincial of the Spanish Province (1230-1233), whence he returned to fulfil the same position in Germany (1233-1239). During this last term of office he introduced the Order in Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Denmark and Sweden. His contemporary, Jordanus of Giano, says of him (*Anal. Francisc.*, I, 17, n. 55): "This man was the greatest propagator of his Order, which he defended before bishops and princes. He loved his brethren as a hen her chicks, and governed them in peace and charity, to their great consolation."

Thus Friar John was a man of some accomplishments when the important mission to the Tartars was entrusted to him in 1245. It is no wonder that he was chosen for that difficult and dangerous enterprise. He had travelled over the greater part of Europe, and so had come into contact with many peoples of different tongues and manners, always showing the utmost tact and knowing how to deal with men; indeed, an excellent preparation for the new undertaking.

If all these circumstances explain why the choice of Pope Inno-

[2] It seems quite useless to try to identify the birthplace of Friar John with Pian Castagnaio in the region of Siena. The words of Salimbene, who knew John personally at Lyons in 1248, exclude it.

cent IV fell on Friar John, yet they do not make clear, nor do we know when and how he came into direct touch with the papal curia. In fact, he cannot be traced between 1239 and 1245. There might be a clue in a papal document of 1248 (*Bull. Franc.*, I, 506) in which John is called a papal penitentiary. The only difficulty is that we do not know when he was appointed to that very important office. From the general way of carrying on business in the papal curia in the thirteenth century, I am inclined to think that Friar John had held that post some time previous to his diplomatic mission, for it was the papal penitentiaries to whom such tasks were then entrusted, a fact of which we have many instances.[3]

However that may be, Innocent IV secured him for his plan to get into direct diplomatic relations with the much feared Tartars. On April 16, 1245, John of Pian di Carpine started out from Lyons in company with Friar Stephen of Hungary, who later fell ill on the way and had to be left behind. We can follow John's itinerary in chap. IX of his treatise, generally called *Historia Mongolorum*. Setting out across Germany the two friars came first to Bohemia, whose king directed them to Poland and Russia. At Breslau John took with him Friar Benedict of Poland to serve him as an interpreter. All along the way he gathered useful information about the Tartars and their customs, and, on learning of their eagerness for presents, he provided himself with precious furs. Kiev was the last halt in Christendom, whence on February 3, 1246, the party committed itself to its unknown destiny, approaching with throbbing hearts the terrible foe. It was not very long before they met the first Tartars who eagerly inquired about their business and asked for gifts. When the head men heard that John was an ambassador of the pope, they provided him with horses and guided him from station to station, directing him to Batu who had command of the Tartars on the European frontier. Having traversed South East Russia, being

[3] Cf. L. Oliger, *I Penitenzieri Francescani a S. Giovanni in Laterano*, Florence, 1926 (reprinted from *Studi Francescani*, 1925-26).

well instructed meanwhile by the escorting Tartars how to behave and to observe the prescribed ceremonies, John at last arrived near Batu's camp, on the lower Volga. Batu took cognizance of the papal letters through interpreters, treated the ambassador well, but ruled that he himself could not decide anything, and that the papal envoy would have to go to the Great Khan Kujuk, who was then residing in inner Asia, somewhere near Karakorum. This meant a new, unforeseen and lengthy journey across unknown regions, but, if the papal orders were to be carried out, there was no choice. Accordingly, on Easter Day, April 8, 1246, John left Batu's camp, "with many tears", as he frankly admits, "not knowing whether he was travelling towards life or towards death."

Officially acknowledged as ambassador of the pope, he was consequently treated with the regard due to his rank, and given all the help which the almost perfect organization of the Tartars for speedy communications, so well described by Marco Polo, could afford. In company with his Tartar guides, the Franciscan friar made his way eastward, following a great highroad along which there were regular posts, provided with men, horses, and all other necessities. So quick was the pace that the horses had to be changed as often as five to seven times a day. When they had to pass through a desert, however, they were given extra strong mounts that could stand a whole day's galloping. Despite the speed of the journey John observed what he could. Whilst passing the country of the Cumanians, north of the Caspian Sea, he noticed many human skulls and bones scattered about, evidently relics of the battles waged against the Cumans during their subjugation by the Tartars. As the travellers went rapidly to the East, he made brief notes of the countries and peoples and their prevailing conditions.

The goal of the journey was the region to the south of the Lake of Baikal. There, in Mongolia, was Karakorum, founded by Okkadai in 1235, and then the Tartar capital;[4] its ruins were

[4] Cf. L. Wieger, S. J., *Histoire moderne de la Chine*, III (1905), p. 953.

discovered by Yadrintzef in 1889. Near Karakorum, which the papal ambassador did not actually see (W., 30), were the tents of Kujuk and of the Tartar nobility, who were about to elect him Great Khan. Kujuk assigned better quarters to the friar than those provided for ordinary ambassadors, and directed him to his mother Turakima, as he did not wish to interfere with the affairs of government as long as he was not formally elected.

John of Pian di Carpine arrived just a few days previous to the actual election, which he describes, with all its fantastic pomp and curious ceremonies. Besides the Tartar chieftains, there were present over four thousand ambassadors and representatives, governors, princes or nobles who brought tributes, offered submission, or had other affairs to settle. They all were the guests of the Great Khan. There were also all kinds of people busy in the service of the court, including a Ruthenian goldsmith, who showed our friar the golden throne he had made for the Tartar Emperor, and was helpful to him in other ways.

After a few weeks' residence near the court, and after all the election ceremonies and feasts, John was received in solemn audience by the Great Khan, according to a complicated ceremonial. Amongst other things, the friar had to put on a purple cloth over his rough Franciscan habit, for the Khan would only receive ambassadors clad in purple. He had also to make four genuflections on the left knee as he approached the imperial throne. The audience, carried on by means of interpreters, was repeated several times in the different camps of the emperor situated in the district of the River Orkhon. At last Kujuk, of whom John gives us a good and rather sympathetic description, requested him to put his desires in writing. The contents of the message were fixed upon and interpreted. The Khan also asked whether they wanted him to send his own messengers to the pope, to which Pian di Carpine diplomatically objected for various reasons, one of them

It was Kublai Khan (1260-1294) who made Peking the capital. "Avec l'abandon de Karakorum," writes Wieger, "la division de l'empire mongol . . . se trouva pratiquement consommée: Kiptchak, Perse, Chine."

being that he feared they would be spies on the Christians. An imperial letter was then drawn up in Tartaric, and interpreted and written in Latin, all this being done by the chancellors and scribes who were of various nationalities. At last, on November 13, 1246, Kujuk's sealed letter was handed over to the pope's ambassador, who was now directed to the Khan's mother, receiving from her precious furs, most of which were soon stolen.

The papal envoy, duly escorted, now began the homeward journey, taking the same route he had come. As it was now winter, the travelling was more difficult and imposed more hardships on the party. Through snow and ice John came once more to Batu, who gave him a new guide, and at last he arrived at Kiev in Russia on May 9, 1247. Here Friar John's journal ends. He only adds a lengthy list of names of such people as he had met on the journey or at the court of Kujuk, lest anyone should doubt whether the embassy ever reached its destination. The journey from Kiev and back had lasted sixteen months. Passing through Poland, Bohemia, Germany and Champagne, the embassy reached Lyons in November, 1247. Friar John delivered to the pope the sealed letter of the Great Khan, and at the same time gave an account of the mission he had so gallantly carried out.

Innocent IV was much pleased with the accomplishment of the zealous and intelligent friar and sent him on a new mission to King Louis IX. A little later he made him Archbishop of Antivari on the Illyrian coast (1248), where he died on August 1, 1252.

The purpose of the pope's mission to the Tartars was threefold: to pay a compliment to the much feared Great Khan by sending him an embassy, to try to win him and his people to Christianity, and to gather as much useful knowledge as possible about the Tartars. The outcome of this third point is contained in the first eight chapters of John's narrative (W. 29-101), of which we give here the contents in brief:

The geographical position of the country of the Tartars, its features and climate (I).

Description of the bodily characteristics of the inhabitants, their clothing, dwellings, property and weddings (II).

The cult of God (*unum Deum credunt*), what they believe to be sin, their sorceries and purifying rites (III).

Their good and bad qualities, customs and their food; here the remarkable importance of the women in all domestic and economic affairs is insisted upon (IV).

The origin of the Empire of the Tartars and their Princes; the rule of the Emperor and his nobles; here Friar John gives us a fairly correct account of the dominion of the Tartars, with the succession and genealogy of the Great Khans. He explains also the perfect organization of their vast Empire, and tells us about the gradual subjugation of Asia and of Eastern Europe (V).

Their warfare, arms, stratagems, cruelty to prisoners, sieges, and treachery to those who surrender to them; whilst they generally slaughter all prisoners of war, they usually spare such men as can be useful to them, as skilled workmen, goldsmiths, etc. (VI).

How the Tartars make peace; then follows a full list of all the countries subdued by them, as also the names of the peoples whom they have not yet been able to conquer (VII).

Finally Friar John gives good advice how the Tartars should be met in war and conquered, and how to frustrate their stratagems (VIII).

Here, then, we have, for the first time, authentic information about the terrible Tartars, who had for a long time kept Europe trembling, a state of mind which was not yet overcome when John gave his account to the pope.

II.

A good supplement to John of Pian di Carpine's narrative is given by his companion, Fr. Benedict of Poland, O. F. M., whom, as we have already said, John had chosen at Breslau to serve him as interpreter. Passing through Cologne on the return journey, Benedict spoke to a certain canon of his experiences, and this canon perpetuated his story in the *Annales S. Pantaleonis* (M. G. H. SS., 22, 542; W., 133-143). While giving us some insight into the ways and manners of the Tartars, Fr. Benedict provides a clear idea of the itinerary followed by the papal envoys. For the rest, he confirms most of the indications already

given by Friar John. At the end of his account is the text of the curious letter of Kujuk to the pope; a better and probably original version has been inserted into his own chronicle by Salimbene (ed. Holder-Egger, M. G. H. SS., 32, 208), which version is given by W., 142.

III.

Only a little later than John of Pian di Carpine, another Franciscan, William of Rubruc (Rubruquis, Rubrouck), made the tiresome journey to the Great Khan in the centre of Asia, and has left us a lengthy relation of his enterprise (W., 147-332).

Friar William was born at Rubruc in Flanders (today in France), or, according to others and less likely, at Ruisbroek in Brabant (Belgium). He seems to have lived in the friary at Paris before he went to Syria about the year 1248. In Syria he stayed at Acre till 1253 and thence he went to Constantinople. From there he set out on his journey to the Tartars, returning in 1255. The Provincial Chapter of Syria then appointed him lecturer for the friars at Acre. There he wrote down his Itinerary, addressed to Louis IX, King of France, for whom he had undertaken the journey. Finally he obtained permission to return to Paris, where he met Roger Bacon, who was eager to learn about these unknown regions and peoples, as he tells us in his *Opus Maius* (ed. Bridges, I, 305). No information has come down to us about Fr. William's later life.

The character of his mission is not quite clear; he protested at every critical moment that he was not an ambassador of the King of France. He only had a letter of recommendation from Louis IX to Sartach, son of Batu, who was believed to be a Christian. In the letter permission is asked for Fr. William to stay in the dominions of Sartach, to preach the Gospel, and to help the dispersed Christians. Sartach was then holding command on the right bank of the Volga, towards the Caspian Sea.

Fr. William was evidently a more learned man than John of Pian di Carpine; in fact he was a professor, whilst Pian di Carpine had spent most of his time in the administration of different

provinces. But the Italian friar had an advantage over Rubruc in that he possessed fine diplomatic tact. Rubruc, the sturdy Fleming, on the other hand, seems to have been sometimes more zealous and outspoken than prudent, a fact of which several instances may be found in his Itinerary (See pp. 215, 244, 247, 290, 297-8). This same fact appears also in another thirteenth century source (*Antonianum,* II (1927), 215), where the Great Khan is said to have complained that Rubruc wanted to gain him for Christendom by threatening him with hell, instead of first showing him the sweetness of the Christian religion. The King of Armenia, who related this fact, added that the other friar (John of Pian di Carpine) who had used a different manner, had obtained the favor of the Great Khan.

Apart from this, the Itinerary of Rubruc is of great value, being the work of a learned man and of a good observer, who had every opportunity for study, especially on account of his stay of about six months at the court of Mangu Khan. Through this work we get a glimpse of the babel-like confusion of peoples, tongues, and religions in the great Empire of the Khans, and this characteristic was still more apparent at the court of the Great Khan, where all were congregated in one place. The Itinerary is also written with more order as it follows the actual facts and registers observations as they were made. Of course, digressions, justified by the subject at the moment under observation, and discussions are not wanting and sometimes extend over several chapters. Special features are his information about China (he rightly indentifies the ancient Seres with Cathay), his minute description of Karakorum, then the capital of the Tartars, and last but not least, some important linguistic and geographical observations. He tells us, almost fifty years before Marco Polo, of the Chinese paper money, a sort of banknote (W., 271), and is the first amongst western writers to give us an idea of Chinese writing.

The text of Rubruc's Itinerary consists of a prologue, thirty-eight chapters and an epilogue. The whole is addressed to St. Louis IX, as we have already remarked.

Rubruc started his journey from Constantinople on May 7, 1253, and crossing the Black Sea, landed in the Crimea on June 21. From there he directed his steps towards the Tartars and to Sartach, their commander in the district on the right bank of the lower Volga. The missionary reached him on July 31. On first coming into touch with the Tartars Fr. William was so impressed that he remarks that he thought he was journeying into a new world. He summarizes his new impressions in chapters II-VIII, speaking of their dwelling in tents which they move on broad carts, drawn by oxen and driven by women (II), on their food (III), on their drink made from mare's milk and called *kumys*, named cosmos by Rubruc (IV), on their hunting for meat and furs (V), their manner of clothing and their adornments (VI), the duties of the women (VII), the administration of justice, and their funeral rites (VIII). From these and other accounts given later on in Rubruc's text, we see clearly that the Tartars at that time were a nomad people, depending mainly on their herds, for which they sought out the best pastures, moving north or south according to the seasons.[5]

Rubruc thought that his being presented to Sartach with the letters of St. Louis IX requesting permission for the missionary to stay in the country would be the end of his journey, but it had in reality only just begun. Sartach, who, William soon learned, was not a Christian, replied that he could not grant such a permission, and sent the missionary to his father Batu (IX-XVII). So the journey was continued across the Volga to the camp of Batu. He quickly got rid of the missionary, saying that he could not comply with his wish without the knowledge of the Great Khan Mangu (1248-1259), hence he would have to apply to him (XVIII-XIX). On September 16, Rubruc started on his new venture, guided by a Tartar commissioned by Sartach. As he denied for himself the quality of an ambassador, he was not

[5] According to H. Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, Paris, 1920, II, 277, the Tartars under Mangu, and more especially under his successor Kublai, gave up the nomad life and established themselves in towns.

treated with all the regard due to that rank, so that the travelling was rather slow and with more incidental hardships than the journey of Pian di Carpine. Pursuing the way eastward from the Volga, Fr. William took three months and a half to reach Mangu Khan's camp near Karakorum, arriving there on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1253 (XX-XXVII). On the way Rubruc met many Christians, Greeks and especially Nestorians, who, as is well known, were the earliest missionaries in China. All were utterly ignorant, for the most part lacking priests and taking a share in all sorts of religions and rites. One thing distinguished these Christians from amongst the Tartars; they would not, for anything in the world, drink *kumys* (cosmos), thinking it to be inconsistent with their religion. Rubruc sought in vain to dissuade them from this opinion; he drank it himself when courtesy seemed to require it.

After some searching questions as to their purpose in coming, Rubruc and his companions were at last admitted into the tent of Mangu Khan on January 4, 1254. Before the door of the tent they very appropriately sang the Nativity hymn:

A solis ortu cardine
Ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus Principem
Natum Maria Virgine.

and then were allowed to enter into the presence of the Great Khan, who, after some ceremonies, asked them many questions. Unfortunately the interpreter had drunk too much *kumys* and so Rubruc could not make out all the answers, but he adds that Mangu himself was befuddled. Lest he should be obliged to return in the heart of winter Rubruc had asked leave to stay in the camp till spring, particularly because his companion was ill. He learned after the audience that Mangu had complied with his request, and had granted him two months. In fact he stayed about six months, and thus had plenty of opportunities to observe and study his interesting surroundings. The description of his experiences at the court is perhaps the most thrilling part of the Itinerary (XXVIII-XXXVI).

Fr. William found at the court of Mangu and in the neighboring capital, Karakorum, all sorts of scattered Christians, not only from the Orient but also from Hungary, Paris (the goldsmith Bouchier), and Metz (a lady Paquette), who were employed in the service of the Great Khan as skilled artisans, and had to contribute by their craftsmanship to the magnificence of the potent oriental sovereign. They were all very kind to Fr. William and rendered him valuable service, whilst he in turn gave them and their children religious instruction and baptized some of them. On Easter Sunday, 1254, after due instruction and confession he celebrated Mass in the Baptisterium of the Nestorians, and gave Holy Communion to many Christians of different rite.

He also tells us stories of clever imposters, who pretended to be ambassadors or priests, who all contrived to hang about the court of the infatuated, credulous and superstitious monarch, who received with the same grace the blessing of the Catholic missionary, the incense of the ignorant Greek or Nestorian monks, and the magic of the Tuins or idolaters. Nothing could better illustrate the religious mind of the Tartars than these grotesque scenes. It seems as if Mangu wanted to be sure of securing for himself all possible blessings, no matter from what quarter they came. Once he even arranged a theological dispute in his presence between the different religions, and Rubruc, who took part in it, concludes his account by saying: "At the end Nestorians and Saracens sang loudly, whilst the Tuins kept silence, after which all drank freely."

After having entrusted Rubruc with a letter to Louis IX (the text of which is given in W., 307-309), Mangu ruled that the missionary should return to Batu, and gave him a guide who conducted him there, along the Volga. Thence he passed between the Black and Caspian Seas, crossed Georgia and Armenia, embarked for Cyprus, and at last reached Antioch on June 29, 1255, and a little later Tripoli, whence he was sent to Acre (XXXVII-XXXVIII).

In an epilogue Rubruc gives his counsels to the King of France, and betrays his pessimism with regard to the Tartars. He deems

it useless to send any more missions to them such as the one he had just completed. Only the pope, with some hope of success, might send them a bishop as ambassador, who would be able to tell them what he wished, since the Tartars let ambassadors talk as much as they wanted. Events show that Rubruc had perceived clearly and penetrated deeply into the Tartar character.

IV.

In 1928 the Order of Friars Minor celebrated the sixth centenary of the great missionary, Friar John of Monte Corvino, who died at Peking in 1328 as the first Archbishop of the Chinese capital.[6] Much has been written recently about the birthplace of this remarkable man. In truth there are no decisive arguments either for Monte Corvino in Apulia or for Monte Corvino near Salerno, so the question remains an open one. Nor is it known where and when he entered the Franciscan Order. Sometime in the eighties of the thirteenth century he went as a missionary to Armenia, whence he returned to the pope in 1289 as ambassador of Haiton II, King of Armenia. Nicholas IV sent him back to the East with papal letters for Haiton II, and for the princes of Persia, Georgia, Turkestan, Ethiopia and China. He reached Persia in the same or the following year. Here the Tartar Argon was reigning and had sent the monk Çauma as his ambassador to the pope. John left Tabris, the Persian capital, about 1291 in company with Nicholas of Pistoia, O. P., and a merchant Peter Lucalongo. They embarked at Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and sailed for India. Here he baptized about a hundred persons, and built the first Latin church near Meliapur (Madras) in which he buried Friar Nicholas of Pistoia who had died there. Having spent thirteen months in India, he proceeded further, and came, probably by sea, to China and its capital Khanbalic, the Peking of today, about 1293 or 1294. As an ambassador John occupied

[6] The Order of Friars Minor consecrated the whole of the July number, 1928, of their official organ, *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, to John of Monte Corvino, with articles by Fathers Golubovich, Pou, and the present writer.

a distinguished place at the court of the Great Khan, who continued the old tradition of friendliness and courtesy towards Christendom. Monte Corvino thus became the first real and, for many years, the only missionary in China. Already in the first year of his apostolate (1294) he gained for the Church the Nestorian King George of Tenduk, who brought back to the unity of the Faith a great number of his subjects. When he lost his life in war, however, his brothers re-converted them to Nestorianism. But John of Monte Corvino hoped much from the King's son, named John in his honor, who was only nine years of age at the death of his father.

At Peking the zealous missionary built two churches, one of which was at the entrance to the imperial palace. These he adorned with pictures from the Old and New Testaments, with inscriptions in Latin, Cumanic and Persian. For many years he worked alone, as it was only about 1303 that he received a companion missionary, Friar Arnold of Cologne, O. F. M., who had succeeded in reaching him.[7] Up to 1305, Friar John had baptized in Peking six thousand infidels, and he would have been able to baptize many more if it had not been for the hostility and calumnies of the Nestorians. He brought up about forty boys in the Faith, and instructed them in liturgical chant, so that the emperor, who could hear their chant from his palace, was delighted with them. It was about this time that the missionary succeeded in communicating with his confrères in the Crimea and in Persia through letters written at Peking in 1305 and 1306, which letters still exist and are published by W., 335-355. By this means news of the great work of the Franciscan missionary reached Pope Clement V, who was so impressed that he established the hierarchy

[7] The Franciscan chronicler, John of Winterthur, who wrote about 1340-1348, ascribes almost everything contained in the first letter of John of Monte Corvino to a Friar of Lower Germany. He doubtless means Arnoldus of the Province of Cologne, and has probably confused their relative merits. See *Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon*, ed. G. von Wyss, in *Archiv für schweizerische Geschichte*, Zurich, 1856, XI, 208-210; ed. F. Baethgen, *Die Chronik Johanns von Winterthur*, Berlin, 1924, 232-235.

in China, appointing John of Monte Corvino first Archbishop of Peking, and sending out to him seven other Franciscans as suffragan bishops; these were to consecrate John (1307). Only three of them reached Peking, however, about 1309, the others having died on the way. John was consecrated by these and then diffused Christianity and founded Franciscan friaries within a large radius of the vast empire. At last, in 1328, he was called to his heavenly reward. His death was a common cause of mourning, both among Christians and pagans.

Such is the work of the great missionary as we know it from the papal bulls, chronicles of the time, and especially from his letters, the two mentioned above and a third one, written at Peking in 1306, of doubtful authenticity but accepted and published by W. The first Plenary Council of China, celebrated at Shanghai in 1924, addressed a petition to the Pope for the beatification of the first Archbishop of Peking, and we know that the Holy Father takes a personal interest in his cause.

V.

Fr. Peregrinus de Castello, O. F. M., was one of the seven suffragan bishops sent out in 1307 to John of Monte Corvino. Of his previous life nothing is known. He remained at Peking until he succeeded Friar Gerard as Bishop of Zaitun (Tceu-tung), whence he wrote on December 30, 1318, the letter published by W., 359-368. The genuineness of the letter is not above suspicion, but it is accepted as fully authentic by W. Peregrinus speaks briefly of John of Monte Corvino and his work, telling us that thirty thousand Alans (who were Christians of the Greek rite) followed him. At Zaitun there was a Franciscan church in the town, founded by a rich Armenian lady, and a Franciscan friary outside situated in a beautiful position. He speaks of the difficulties of the mission, arising from the hostility of the Nestorians and the lack of sufficient missionaries. Nothing was more badly needed than more missionaries. Fr. Peregrinus de Castello died at Zaitun on July 7, 1323.

VI.

Fr. Andrew of Perugia, O.F.M., (W., 371-377), was also one of the seven suffragan bishops sent out to Peking in 1307. After staying a long time at the Chinese capital, he went to Zaitun, where he succeeded Peregrinus de Castello (1323), and governed that church for some years. He died before 1330, for in that year he already had a successor in the See. His letter is addressed to the Guardian of the Franciscan Friary of Perugia, and is dated January, 1326. He speaks of his journey to China, of the conditions prevailing there, and on his work, and touches also on the Franciscan martyrs of India. He praises the Franciscan house outside Zaitun, built by him under his predecessor, a place large enough to accommodate thirty friars and four prelates. He reminds his readers that he is the last surviving bishop of those sent out by Clement V in aid of Friar John of Monte Corvino. Speaking of China he notes that there are peoples of all nations and all creeds in that vast empire. Everybody is allowed to live according to his own tenets, it being erroneously believed that everybody can save himself in his own religion. The friars are quite free in preaching the Gospel, but no Jew or Saracen is ever converted. Many of the idolaters are baptized, but they do not live up to Christian principles.

VII.

Friar Odoric of Pordenone, O. F. M., is one of the great Franciscan missionaries whose report on his travels and marvellous experiences is one of the most famous of the Middle Ages. Yule devoted a whole volume to him (*Cathay and the Way Thither,* ed. Cordier, vol. II, pp. xv-367), and his narrative, written in 1330, was much read and often translated into other languages (W., 381-495).

We know little of his youth except that he was born at Pordenone, a little town near Udine. In one manuscript his father is said to be from Bohemia. When young he entered the Franciscan Order. Whether he made one, or two, great missionary

journeys is disputed. It is certain, however, that we have the account of only one, which extends from 1314 to 1330; according to Yule, from 1316 to 1330. In 1330 he came back to Europe, hoping to see Pope John XXII, get help from him, and then return to the mission with fifty friars. But he was taken ill at Pisa, wandered on towards Udine and halted at Padua where he dictated his Itinerary to Friar William of Solagna (1330). He died at Udine on January 14, 1331. His cult was confirmed by Pope Benedict XIV in 1755. Besides the dictated version transcribed by William of Solagna, there exists another redaction, written in 1331 at Avignon by Benedict of Glatz, O. F. M., who added some chapters at the end from a report he received from Fr. Benedict of Bassano, a companion of Odoric. W. follows the first version, whilst Fr. Marcellinus of Civezza, O. F. M. (*Storia Universale delle Missioni francescane,* III, 739-781) has printed the second. Yule prints the first and puts the additions of the second in an appendix (pp. 270-277, *passim*).

As to the value of Odoric's Itinerary there are different opinions. In the past some authors thought him almost an impostor on account of various extraordinary things he refers to. Modern geographical study has done much to rehabilitate him. Yule and Cordier have cleared up many points. Still there are some things in his story that can only be attributed to his over-credulity, and his good faith is not to be questioned. He related what he had heard. But there is enough valuable information left to make his Itinerary one of the most remarkable of olden times.

Odoric is the first to give us the name of the island of Sumatra. He has some observations about China not to be found in Marco Polo. For instance he tells us of all kinds of animals being kept and fed in the monastery at Hang-tcheou, because it was believed that they were animated by the souls of ancestors. He also records the custom of stunting the growth of women's feet. He likewise confirms and supplements what we know of the missions from other sources.

Odoric's narrative begins with his embarking on the shores of the Black Sea, probably at Constantinople, whence he landed at Trebizond. He proceeded to Erzerum, Tabris and Soltania, where he founded Franciscan houses. After some further wanderings he passed through Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, and at Ormuz took to sea for India, landing at Tana on the island of Salsette, where a short time previously (1321) four Friars Minor had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Saracens (I-VII). He relates the story of their sufferings in the next chapter (VIII), and, on his departure, took their relics with him. Pushing southward he came to Malabar, passed over to Ceylon and thence proceeded to Madras or Meliapur, where he speaks of the church of St. Thomas "full of idols and surrounded by about fifteen houses of Nestorians." He gives us a vivid and realistic description of all he saw in the wonderland that is India, omitting scarcely anything characteristic of Indian life (IX-XI). In the next two chapters (XII-XIII) Odoric relates his visit to Sumatra and Java and what he saw there. Touching at some other islands which cannot all be identified, he came to Southern Cochin China (Zampa). He then speaks of the Nicobars and again about Ceylon and other islands, telling us many legends about them, taken in part perhaps from Marco Polo (XIV-XVIII).

Finally he sailed for China, the south of which was then called Manzi, whilst the northern part was Cathay proper. Both were divisions of the empire of the Great Khan, who at this time had lost control of the far-off vassal states founded by Ghengiz Khan and his first successors. Odoric landed at Canton and then travelled as far as Peking, passing through Zaitun, Fu-tcheou, Hang-tcheou, Nanking and Yang-tcheou (XIX-XXV). He stayed about three years at Peking, doubtless laboring at one of the Franciscan churches founded there and still governed by the great archbishop, John of Monte Corvino. He describes the city, and the customs and manners of the Great Khan (XXVI-XXXI). Finally, the great traveller took his way westward through various provinces of China, all of which he pictures to us; we can follow him as

far as Thibet, which, however, according to more recent studies he did not see. The route of his return journey to Europe cannot be traced. Yule (10) conjectures that the friar passed by Kabul and Khorasan, then south to the Caspian Sea to Tabris and thence to Venice. Among the last chapters of the Itinerary (XXXII-XXXVIII) there is one (XXXVI) on the wonders the Friars Minor are working in China, where they expel the demon from the possessed "like a dog out of the house." It is a pity that Odoric gives us only occasional information about the great work his brethren were doing among the Tartars. He seems to have been more concerned, at least in his narrative, about the marvellous stories and the natural curiosities of the countries through which his journey led him. The last but one chapter (XXXVII), on a terrible valley full of corpses, has very much puzzled writers who have tried to explain it. Yule (262-266) is perhaps the best interpreter. The concluding chapter is again about the Great Khan and his reverence for the Holy Cross. The last words of Odoric testify to the truth of his extraordinary narrative.

Yule (11) does not think much of the missionary activity of our Friar nor even of his sanctity: "Odoric's narrative gives one decidedly the impression of a man of little refinement, with a very strong taste for roving and seeing strange countries, but not for much preaching and asceticism." But we may justly remark that we cannot measure the culture of an Italian friar of the fourteenth century by the refinement of a modern English gentleman. On the other hand Odoric did not intend to speak of his own missionary work, but of the marvellous countries and peoples he had seen, and geographers and historians at least ought to be grateful to him for that account.

VIII.

Paschal of Victoria, O. F. M., furnishes us the next text, a letter written on August 11, 1338, from Armalec in Turkestan, at that time the capital of the Khan of Chagatai (W., 499-506). Friar Paschal was a Spaniard who started for the mission field in

the Orient from the papal court of Avignon about the year 1333. His letter, addressed to the Guardian of Victoria, describes the journey to Assisi, Venice, through the Adriatic to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and thus to Tana on the Don. Thence he went in 1335 to Sarai, where he spent a year, learning the Cumanic language and also Viguric writing, in order to be able to preach. Through Urghanj he came to Armalec (Almaligh) where he labored in the apostolate, as indeed he had done all the way along, after he had learned the language. In one place he preached and disputed with the Saracens for twenty-five days at the door of a mosque, and was very badly treated by them. The zealous friar was not, for all that, disheartened; as he says himself, he expected to suffer much more for Christ. In fact, in the following year (1339) he was martyred with some of his brethren by the Saracens of Armalec.

IX.

A short relation of the martyrdom of the Franciscans at Armalec is given by W., 509-511. It is an extract from the Chronicle of the 24 Generals (*Anal. Francis.*, III, 531-2), a report which seems to have some connection with John of Marignolli about whom we shall now speak.

X.

John of Marignolli, O. F. M., called also John of Florence, whose account of the missions and things seen in the East follows in chronological order (W., 515-565), had a life full of change. Born of the noble Florentine family de Marignolli (Marignolle is a small place outside Florence where the family had a villa; they also had a palace in the city near S. Lorenzo), he became in due time a learned Franciscan and a lecturer at Bologna. When, in 1336, the Great Khan Shun-ti and the Alan chiefs of his court sent an embassy to the pope, which arrived at Avignon in 1338, requesting spiritual help for the Alans, John of Marignolli was called to the papal curia and appointed head of the fifty Franciscan missionaries who were to accompany the Chinese embassy to Peking.

Friar John left Avignon in December, 1338, for Naples, where he awaited the Chinese ambassadors. They arrived the following year, and, after being received by King Robert, all went by sea to Constantinople, arriving there on May 1, 1339. Crossing the Black Sea the party reached Caffa (Crimea), then pushed on to Tana, Sarai, and Armalec. They arrived here in 1341 and, when Marignolli heard of the death of the Franciscans and the destruction of their mission in 1339, he acquired ground and started a new mission. Later he passed through Central Asia and arrived at Peking in 1342. He was presented in solemn audience to Shun-ti, who received the legate's blessing and the presents of the pope and of Robert, King of Naples. The embassy was lodged in the imperial palace and provided with everything during its stay in Peking for about three years. At last, about 1345, Friar John resolved to return to Europe, but, as war had broken out in Mongolia, he could not follow the same road by which he had come. Solemnly escorted out of Peking, he travelled through Southern China, stopping and preaching at many places. Arriving in India, where he lingered a year and four months, he visited the few Christians on the great islands, and then returned to India (Madras) and at last embarked for Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. He proceeded through Asia Minor to the Holy Land and to Egypt, and then to Cyprus, and, at the end of 1353 he arrived in Europe after fourteen years absence. At Avignon he gave an account of his achievements to Pope Innocent VI and presented to him the letters of the Great Khan.

A year later Marignolli was appointed Bishop of Bisignano in Calabria. The following year he met the emperor, Charles IV, King of Bohemia, who made him a chaplain of his court, and appointed him historiographer of Bohemia, so Friar John went to Prague. The place and date of his death are unknown. On March 22, 1359, the See of Bisignano was provided with a new bishop "on account of the death of Friar John." The last document that refers to him is a rather insolent letter sent to him by Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh. The letter is not

dated but must have been written about 1357, the year in which the famous primate of Ireland was called to the court of Avignon for his attacks on the mendicants. His letter is printed by Golubovich, (*Biblioteca bio-bibliografica Terrae Sanctae,* IV, Quaracchi, 1923, 269-70) who has treated exhaustively the work of Marignolli (*l. c.,* 357-369).

No direct account of the embassy carried out by Marignolli exists. As he was appointed historiographer of the King of Bohemia, however, he wrote a *Chronicon Bohemorum* about 1356, edited by G. Emler in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (III, Prague, 1882), and embodied in this work the personal knowledge and experience he had acquired in the Orient. W. extracted his text from the *Chronicon* and it is consequently rather fragmentary and confused. If we had not many other documents, especially the papal bulls, it would be impossible to make out of Marignolli's texts the history and route taken by this last important embassy to the Great Khan or Emperor of China Shin-tu, the last of the Mongol dynasty founded by Ghengiz Khan. He was dethroned in 1368 by the Chinese Ming dynasty.

XI.

The last text edited in *Sinica Franciscana* is an extract from a Spanish author, an anonymous Franciscan of about the middle of the fourteenth century, who wrote *Libro del conoscimiento de todos los regnos y tierras,* edited under that title by Marco Jimenez de Espada (Madrid, 1877). From this book W. (pp. 563-575) gives extracts bearing on the East. The anonymous author seems to have been a great compiler of medieval itineraries and geographical works, giving the whole as the fruit of his own experience. This text, containing next to nothing about missions and missionaries, could have been omitted from the collection without loss. In place of it, it would perhaps have been wiser to insert the letters of the Great Khan and the Alan chiefs, of which we have spoken in connection with Marignolli, and to give extracts from John of Cora, O. P. (1330), bearing on John of Monte Corvino, Andrew of Perugia and Peter of Florence. (See

Marcellino da Civezza, O. F. M., *Storia universale delle Missioni francescane,* III, 599-605; Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica,* III, 487; R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum,* IV, 69.)

The pioneer work of the Franciscans in China during the Middle Ages can be compared with the great work of the Franciscans in Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, due regard being paid to the different proportions and the quite different conditions. In both countries they were extremely valuable historians as well as zealous missionaries, real models of intelligent missionary workers for all time.

With the middle of the fourteenth century the itineraries and reports of the Franciscan missions among the Tartars of the different empires, and especially of China, cease. This was not mere chance. Most of the vassal states of Western Asia had by that time embraced Islamism. Then, as already stated, in 1368, the Mongols were driven from the Chinese throne, after having governed the vast empire for 162 years. They had been extremely tolerant and even benevolent towards the Franciscan missionaries. Their downfall was not, however, the only cause of the cessation of the missionary movement in China. The Black Death in Europe, and the Western Schism shortly afterwards, with its consequent demoralization, combined with the change in the dynasty and the enormous difficulties of communication with so distant a country, brought the promising Chinese missions to an end. Under the Ming dynasty Christianity in all its forms, Catholic, Greek and Nestorian, died out in China and there is a gap of two centuries between the old Franciscan and the new Jesuit missions in the sixteenth century. Only in 1633, the Franciscans began once more their long interrupted work in China, the first missionaries being Antonio Caballero de S. Maria, a Spaniard from the Philippines, and two companions. Today the Franciscans have there twelve vicariates or prefectures-apostolic and several smaller missions, with about four hundred men on the staff. The old love for China has outlasted the centuries.

Livarius Oliger, O. F. M.

SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DANIELS CARROLL OF L'ENFANT'S ERA.

One of the major problems in appraising the value of a man's work is the difficulty of separating what was a permanent contribution to his era from the envelopments of superficial deduction. Washington as the seat of the federal government has passed through one hundred and thirty years of actual existence and there were ten others of preparation for its high destiny. This period of preparation, between the passage of the Residence Act on July 9th, 1790, and the autumn of 1800 when the Capital of the United States was transferred from Philadelphia to the banks of the Potomac, has been vividly recalled in recent years through the feverish activity of governmental forces in restoring the original plan of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant. These building and engineering operations destined to extend and beautify the Capital, as the incomparable French architect proposed, have been attuned to a strenuous outpouring of literature covering this same juncture of time.[1] Dominant men emerge from many pages panoplied in highly controversial material. This brief study is of several of the proprietors of the "Ten Miles Square" which is now the District of Columbia, with emphasis on the two Daniels Carroll who are associated in the public mind with the disasters which befell the author of the city's ground plan.

One result of this literary preoccupation of clearing L'Enfant's memory of the last trace of insubordination to President Washington or of wilful desire or intent to obstruct his cherished project is that the two Daniels assume a sharper outline in the recital and come out of the shadows in their own personality. Time was when four Daniels of the Carroll lines were presented as one man. Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, called the Commissioner, is the sub-

[1] Elizabeth S. Kite, *L'Enfant and Washington*, introduction by Jules Jusserand; Kite, "The Washington Carrolls and Major L'Enfant", *Catholic Historical Review*, XV (1929), 125-143; Charles Moore, *Washington, Past and Present.*

ject of a sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* fair in general outline but lacking accuracy and the broad scope of analysis which had been confidently anticipated. Says the author,[2] "Among the emigrant Carrolls of the 16th century were two descendants of a common ancestor, one of whom Charles Carroll established a line which was to find its greatest representative in Charles Carroll of Carrollton and the other Kean who was the father of Daniel Carroll of Marlborough." The immigrant of the elder line, Charles Carroll called the Attorney-General arrived in the province of Maryland in 1688, Kean (*sic*) the father of Daniel of Marlborough never set foot on the soil of the new world and the exact date of his son's advent is unrecorded. Possibly it was between 1710 and 1720. The two Carroll lines may have had a common ancestor less remote than Florence O'Carroll, King of Ely in Ireland who died in 1205, but no genealogist has been able to trace him. The author of the most comprehensive and scholarly of recent biographies of the founder of the Catholic church in the United States,[3] cautiously remarks: "The genealogy of the Maryland Carrolls is uncertain," and again, "No positive evidence exists to warrant an immediate ancestor to the heads of these two branches of the Carroll family."[4]

In his political relations Daniel of Rock Creek may be carefully and correctly traced from the revolutionary era to his death in

[2] Cyrus W. Garrison, vol. 3, p. 523.

[3] Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll,* pp. 1, 4.

[4] Rowland in *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* credits the accompanying genealogy to *Stemmata Carrollana* by Frederick John O'Carroll, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association* in Ireland (Oct., 1883), vol. VI, 4th series. This however as applied to untangling the Maryland Carrolls presents a mass of errors which could mislead the most painstaking chronicler. The most authentic record of the family of Keane Carroll in Maryland, is a deposition dated May 16th, 1810, made by Elizabeth Carroll, daughter of Daniel of Marlborough before her nephew Robert Brent, mayor of Washington. This claims no kinship with the Carrolls of Carrollton except on the distaff side through the Darnalls (*Catholic Historical Review,* October, 1916; *Records of the Columbia Historical Society,* vol. 21, p. 17). At the time of Elizabeth Carroll's deposition but three of the seven children of Daniel of Marlborough survived, John, the Archbishop of Baltimore, Mary, the widow of Notley Young, and herself.

1796. He was never a senator from Maryland as Garrison asserts, but a representative in the first Congress of the United States who voted for the Assumption Act and for the several bills which placed the Federal Territory on the Potomac. This was entirely logical since Mr. Carroll cordially supported all President Washington's policies. His knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the area designated as the seat of government prompted his selection as one of the board of commissioners appointed by the Chief Magistrate to purchase the necessary land and prepare it for the building of the national capital. The following statement which appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography* merits keen scrutiny. "His (Carroll's) appointment to limit and survey a part of the Ten Miles Square and the fact that he was the uncle of Daniel Carroll of Duddington who owned considerable property in the area affected and that he owned tracts nearby may have been partly responsible for the embarrassing complications which finally resulted in the resignation of Major L'Enfant." [5]

Apart from the obvious intention to introduce controversial matter in what should have been a didactic relation of proven facts, the sentence savors strongly of agile movements in newspaperdom to evade the libel laws. As one member of a board, he must have acted in harmony with his associates [6] and these respected public

[5] W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capital*, vol. I, p. 122, makes this pertinent remark anent Daniel Carroll's selection as one of the board of commissioners. "Although the owner of land in the northern portion of the District and uncle of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the largest individual owner of the land included within the limits of the city, such interests were evidently not looked upon in that day as disqualifying a man from performing a duty towards the public. In fact . . . there were quite a number of similar instances of men interested as property owners who also became identified with the management of the affairs of the city." In a footnote on the same page, Mr. Bryan says: "During the eleven years of the control of the city affairs by commissioners there is no instance of maladministration although the charge was made from time to time of favoritism towards individuals in certain sections of the city."

[6] Thomas Johnson of Maryland, six months after his appointment as commissioner became an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He served eighteen months, and retired to devote his time to private affairs. He purchased heavily of the city lots, immediately after his retire-

servants must share responsibility for the embarrassing complications and also the odium of the injustice if such can be proven, meted to the accomplished author of the ground plan. If L'Enfant's conflicts had been confined entirely to the commissioners as an unit or to Daniel Carroll in the personal sense or to Daniel of Duddington as a landed proprietor, such an assertion might have been warranted. But at best, these Carroll incidents can only be regarded as grave contributory causes of the illustrious French engineer's and architect's final withdrawal from the federal service.

In some of the recent literature pertaining to L'Enfant the authors frankly assume the rôle of advocate and stress all that strengthens his cause against arguments which might be cited by those who were in controversy with him. A calm survey of the documents which form the basic authority for these studies [7] will lead the impartial investigator to conclusions of a broader trend. The most comprehensive historian of the National Capital [8] places some of the responsibility for L'Enfant's harsh treatment on President Washington and without doubt this incident will be the theme of wider research and more logical analysis as this literature about Pierre Charles L'Enfant grows. This author deprecates that the President, after appointing the commissioners not only to purchase and accept the land but also to survey it, had designated L'Enfant and Ellicott in the direct sense, thus "fixing in L'Enfant's mind the notion that he was independent of the commissioners and subordinate only to the president, a conception which led to a situation that compelled the retirement of L'Enfant from all connection with the city, although with his temperament

ment. Dr. David Stuart of Virginia retired in September, 1794, from the board of commissioners after having been a member since March, 1791. Daniel Carroll retired in 1795 and died a year later at his family residence in what is now the village of Forest Glen, in Montgomery County, Md.

[7] James Dudley Morgan's collection of L'Enfant-Washington, Jefferson and Digges papers and the equally valuable Hugh Taggart collection, both in the Library of Congress. M. Jusserand had access to these papers and it was his perusal of them which led to his masterly essay on his unfortunate compatriot.

[8] W. B. Bryan, *The History of the National Capital* (New York, 1914-1916).

the result would have been the same under almost any circumstances." [9]

In relation to the establishment of the Capital on the Potomac, there is no lack of documentary proof that the personnel of the board of commissioners saved Washington's cherished ambition from ruin or that the august patriot deemed them co-founders with him in this momentous enterprise. For he lacked funds, his enemies near and far were active, and hostile critics were everywhere. Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek stands shoulder to shoulder with his colleagues and he served on the board longer than the others, retiring only when failing health precluded further activity. His labors were constructive and of permanent value and his memory is revered by all who have studied the perplexities and anxieties of those first commissioners in the performance of their complicated duties. In the national meaning, he is entitled to the reverent admiration with which thoughtful citizens regard those patriotic giants who wrote and signed the Declaration of Independence and those who sat in the Convention of Philadelphia from May 14th to September 17th, 1787, and laboriously brought forth the articles of the Constitution of the United States. Daniel Carroll not only helped to frame this momentous document but it was mainly through his personal effort and influence that Maryland ratified the Constitution, April 28th, 1788, by the handsome vote of forty-three to eleven. Heavy artillery had been leveled against the ratification by the anti-Federalists and the victory is all the more impressive. The honorable career of one who played so dominant a part in routing the enemy, must remain impervious to puerile attacks even if launched in so worthy a cause as vindicating the memory of Pierre Charles L'Enfant.

Daniel Carroll of Duddington who is summond before the bar of public opinion in company with his uncle by marriage presents a more complex study. He was of the elder branch established in Maryland in 1688 by the immigrant Charles Carroll, the Attorney-General, and was his great-grandson. He is moreover the first and

[9] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 126.

only Carroll who could correctly write "of Duddington" as his proper designation, and he assumed this distinction as his right in receiving from the division of his grandmother's patrimony the larger part of the tract Duddington Pasture and all of Duddington Manor.[10] He added the name as a distinguishing mark just as his brother Charles took that "of Bellevue" from the estate he acquired in Georgetown. This Daniel and his half uncle, Notley Young, were the largest individual proprietors of the land on which Washington City stands, and sole owners of all that is colloquially known as Capitol Hill. The mansion of Notley Young was the most spacious and elegant home within the confines of the city proper. But Daniel of Duddington had in mind building one commensurate with the dignity of the seat of government and his own as a lineal and legal descendant of those who had received the original charter passing from the aborigines to the agents of the first Baron of Baltimore. It was the destruction of this partially erected house and the threatened demolition of the home of Notley Young which precipitated the lamentable episodes which marked Major L'Enfant's preparation of the incomparable ground-plan and his cruel and unjust treatment by governmental agencies so eloquently set forth in these recent publications.

Like Daniel of Rock Creek, Daniel of Duddington may be followed in the annals of the nation. His was not the admirable character of the elder man and the statement that he was stubborn,

[10] See genealogical chart accompanying article on "The American Capitoline Hill and its early Catholic Proprietors", *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 282. Daniel Carroll, second son of the immigrant, married Anne Rozier, heiress of Cerne Abbey Manor. Accounts of her wedding call her of "Notley Hall". This Daniel died in 1734 and a year later his widow married Benjamin Young, a land agent. In 1758, again a widow, this Ann Rozier Carroll Young made petition to the Maryland assembly to divide her properties called Cerne Abbey Manor and to assign during her life an equitable portion between her sons, Charles Carroll later known as of Carrolburgh and Notley Young. Eleanor, a daughter of the first Daniel Carroll and Ann Rozier, married Daniel Carroll the Commissioner, but to call her "of Duddington" is rather an affectation of the Rowland charts adopted by later writers, than an exact descriptive term. The vast estate inherited jointly by her brother Charles and her half-brother, Notley Young, was known as Cerne Abbey Manor until 1758 as before stated.

unrelenting, lacking vision has been suggested in many documentary sources. Apart from the charge that his determined battle with L'Enfant at last undermined the confidence and affection with which Washington at the beginning of negotiations had regarded the eminent Frenchman, the memory of Daniel Carroll of Duddington has been assailed in company with that of Notley Young and others of the original proprietors for speculations that retarded the growth of the city. So deep rooted is this calumny that rare indeed is the writer or lecturer on the beginnings of the Federal District who fails to frame some fantastic tale in its support. An illuminating ray penetrates this erroneous concept of the matter in examining the detail of conditions proposed by President Washington to the owners of the land on which the Federal Territory was to be located. It was unanimously accepted by those who permitted the commissioners to purchase their property that the establishment and maintenance of the National Capital was to be under every aspect a national enterprise and that not one of the landed proprietors was to be compelled to share this burden in any pecuniary sense. These proprietors had parted with their acres knowing that the city plan which the President had approved included a gift of the streets and other portions of land known as "Appropriations" or "Reservations", and that after the public domain had been eliminated the "residue of lots", that is those available for private sale and for the erection of private dwellings, had been divided equally between the owners and the federal authorities. Thus the government had lots to sell as well as the original proprietors. What avail would it have proven for private owners to demand lofty figures when the same land could be obtained from the municipal agents at a nominal figure?

Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Notley Young owned all of Capitol Hill but that the handsome plateau east of the Capitol developed slowly cannot in truth be laid to cupidity. Mr. Carroll may be described as a victim of L'Enfant's grand ideas in planning the city quite as much as the illustrious engineer had to suffer from the conflicts resulting from the preparation of streets which laid

low the proposed mansion of Duddington. M. Jusserand alludes rather jocularly to the distinguished author of the ground plan in his addiction to performing all acts in the "grand manner." L'Enfant had a stupendous conviction of the power and strength of the American eagle to soar high and over vast extents of territory. He mapped out the east section of the Federal City and in his mind's eyes he saw streets with handsome shops, long arcades filled with elegant figures and looking farther on, he saw the Anacostia River, a mighty port, competing with New York and Philadelphia and turning the routes of trade completely from Baltimore. It was a pleasant vision for men like Carroll and Notley Young who owned such a vast portion of what was to be the commercial city. But did they or any others with lots to sell in the business city of L'Enfant's vision have the power to control their price? Not only are they innocent of the charge, that of demanding far more than their value and then of withdrawing them for the market, but proof can be multiplied that these men worked energetically to induce building on their property. "In this particular section of Capitol Hill moderate prices held from their appearance on the market, ninety-nine year leases were offered with an annual rental which equalled six per cent interest on their fixed value and it was possible at any period before the lease expired to purchase the property at the original price. Columns in the press of Washington and of other cities show that Mr. Carroll (Daniel of Duddington) offered to donate whole squares in eligible situations to persons who would undertake to build. But he could prevail on no one to accept." [11]

What applies to Carroll is applicable to Notley Young and to so many others of the proprietors, for this chapter in the federal annals is grim testimony in favor of the land owners. They were for the larger number, owners of prosperous tobacco fields, from which they derived a competence which not alone set them above want but afforded a luxurious manner of living. The transformation of their profitable farms into city lots, summarily ended their

[11] Taggart, "Old Georgetown", *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 11, p. 221.

revenue and produced instead an array of taxes, an economic aspect which has been too infrequently studied. The city lots remained on their hands and their indebtedness tc the federal government mounted high. In November, 1792, a brief period after David Burnes had reluctantly yielded to the persuasions of the commissioners and sold his fine farm, he wrote them making an eloquent plea for advances on the account of his land taken for public purposes, stating that he was sadly in need of money and that his house was full of creditors. David Burnes was Scotch and canny and he proved more difficult to persuade than the other proprietors, nor did he ever cease to bewail that he had yielded to the federal agents. His homely farm life was destroyed and such dividends as he received had cost him an extraordinary amount of vexation and anxiety. Yet Mr. Burnes is popularly supposed to have profited by the conversion of the tobacco farm into the stately public domain whereon now stands the home of the presidents, an important number of public buildings, and some of the larger parks.

Daniel of Duddington saw almost sixty years of existence in the National Capital, for he died in 1849. He had become embittered and impoverished as the result of business ventures and heavy speculations in land and in other directions.[12] On July 24, 1837, he addressed a letter to his kinsman, Henry J. Brent, which

[12] No contention is made that Daniel Carroll did not speculate but that such transactions retarded the growth of Capitol Hill. "Why the City went Westward" was the subject of a most important debate before the Columbia Historical Society, April 13th, 1903, and published in vol. 7 of the *Records*, pp. 107-145. Those participating were James Dudley Morgan, donor of the papers known as the L'Enfant-Washington, Jefferson, Digges collection in the Library of Congress, great-grandson of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, W. B. Bryan, author of the *History of the National Capital*, Glenn Brown and Allan C. Clark, president of the Columbia Historical Society and author of many of the papers in its annals. Their conclusion was that L'Enfant proposed that the city should develop commercially to the east and in the residential sense to the west and in proof Dr. Morgan cited that the author of the ground plan had purchased a lot in 17th street between I and K numbered 30 in the square 127 and tht he paid 90 pounds current money of Maryland. The receipt signed by the first board of commissioners, Johnson, Stuart, and Carroll dated October 1st, 1791, is in the Morgan papers.

makes clear his sentiments regarding the conditions which the federal agents had imposed on the land owners, and it will be remembered that one of these was Daniel of Rock Creek, his half uncle:

> In answer to yours, I fear that the deeds will fully express the relinquishment of rights in the streets to the government. I nevertheless perfectly remember that the general opinion was that so great was the gift that the citizens never be subject to taxes for the government of the streets —having relinquished every alternate lot to the government. Indeed some were so wild as to suppose the donation so great the government might pave the streets with ingots of gold and silver. After nearly a half century the result is fully known; the unfortunate proprietors are generally brought to ruin and some with scarcely enough to buy daily food for their families. This subject is so truly frightful to me that I hate to think of it much less to write of it.[13]

An impressive number of the original proprietors may be cited to support Carroll's version. The estate of Notley Young was divided into many parts but it was wisely administered by Robert Brent, first mayor of Washington, who had married Eleanor Young. Its owners experienced the usual financial vicissitudes. Benjamin Stoddert was the first Secretary of the Navy and at the time of his appointment was a legal resident of the Federal District and the only cabinet official ever appointed from it. He was an original proprietor with a handsome home, Prospect Hill in Georgetown, and was associated with his father-in-law, Christopher Lowndes of Bladensburg, in a lucrative shipping business. He died ruined in business and heavily in debt. Gen. Uriah Forrest is another who like Mr. Stoddert had a gallant record in the Revolutionary War and, locating in Georgetown, had a profitable business, yet when he passed away in 1809, his affairs were in the hands of assignees. But the list is too lengthy.

In a critical juncture of national affairs, Daniel Carroll of Duddington has an achievement of supreme importance to his credit. After the humiliating capture of the Federal City by the

[13] Taggart Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in *Records of Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 11, p. 220.

British army under General Ross and the attending depredations, the host of jealous and unfriendly critics of the Potomac site lost no time in calling attention to the unprotected situation and the expediency of a temporary removal of the seat of government. Two days after the invaders had withdrawn and boarded their ships at Benedict, this suggestion definitely entered the discussions in Congress and a week later took the form of a resolution.[14] This provided for the immediate departure of the federal authorities until safer and more comfortable conditions prevailed and the public edifices had been rebuilt. As the discussion increased in warmth and partisan spirit, it became evident that the temporary character of the proposed removal was but a camouflage and the purpose was to establish a federal city elsewhere. Philadelphians, never reconciled to losing the seat of government, were early in the field with tempting offers of pecuniary aid until the financial needs were less pressing; Lancaster, Pa., would like to receive Congress again in its comely community, and Baltimore would not refuse the honor of sheltering the stricken government. Even Georgetown was not averse to making profit out of the afflictions of her offspring. The corporation offered the halls of Georgetown College as a suitable environment for Congress and other elegant buildings for the uses of the courts and executive departments. What seemed a potent attraction was that Georgetown hotels were ready to give board and lodging for ten dollars a week whereas Washington had always required sixteen.[15]

Daniel Carroll was at this time on the crest of prosperity's wave. He was president of the Bank of Washington, of the Bridge Company and of the Columbian Turnpikes Company.[16] As a business man, he naturally exerted his influence and income to prevent even the temporary removal of the Capital and the resulting depression of land values and in other ways. But he assumed a rôle of pure patriotism when he aroused the pride of all those who had supported President Washington's choice of location

[14] *Annals of Congress*, 13th Congress, 3d session, pp. 312 *et seq.*
[15] *National Intelligencer*, September 9, 1814, and subsequent editions.
[16] W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capital*, vol. I, p. 556.

against being driven from it even by such a catastrophe as the British invasion. This pride was crystallized into the practical movement of strengthening the defenses of the city and in what now appears a magically short time. Through Carroll and other zealous citizens money was raised to restore Major L'Enfant's plan of fortifications at Fort Washington. The banks of Washington, and Mr. Carroll as before stated was the president of one of the most important, offered the government as a loan a half million dollars to begin at once the rebuilding of its public offices. The news of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent did not reach Washington until February, 1815, and could not have prompted the offer of pecuniary assistance from the city banks. Nor was the energetic action of the several committees of citizens in charge of the fortifications at the fort affected by the fact that for the present no further British attacks could be expected.

In addition to aiding by example and liberal contributions, Carroll and thirty-seven citizens gathered the funds to build the temporary hall of legislature, the old brick Capitol which has recently raised gales of controversy in historical and patriotic organizations.[17] An entertaining chapter of history opens in a perusal of the names of those who generously aided Daniel Carroll, and Catholic citizens of that era stand in conspicuous array. In addition to Daniel of Duddington, there were Charles Carroll of Bellevue, Robert Brent, Griffith Coombe, Daniel Carroll Brent, William Brent, William Dudley Digges, Nicholas L. Queen, and

[17] W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capital*, vol. I, pp. 636-7, says: "The erection of this building, the largest up to that time built by private enterprise, was due to the public spirit of thirty-eight citizens who formed a company and by the sale of stock at $100.00 a share raised $17,362. The new structure stood on the Northeast corner of 1st and A streets and occupied only a portion of the building site acquired by the company. It was three stories in height with a high-pitch-roof. . . . The Senate chamber was on the first floor was forty-five feet long and fifteen wide while the room occupied by the House was on the second floor and its dimensions were seventy-five feet by forty-five with a gallery. Brick was the material used in the walls and the entire cost was $25,000, not including $5000 for the special fittings for the use of Congress, paid from the public treasury. The rent was fixed on a basis of six per cent. on the cost of the building with an allowance for insurance, so that the annual payment was $1650.00."

James D. Barry. Charles Carroll was the younger brother of Daniel. Possessed of social grace he was more prone to amenity than this eminent proprietor of Duddington. He had acted as cavalier of Mistress Dolly Madison when the British soldiers were turning towards the White House and according to the diary of that intrepid lady had aided her in cutting the portrait of Washington from the frame, had hurried her departure and acted as her personal guard until she had crossed into the comparative safety of Virginia. Charles sold his estate in Georgetown early in the nineteenth century and became one of the founders of the city of Syracuse, N. Y. His fine estate on the Genesee River remains with his descendants. All the Brents were nephews of Archbishop Carroll and of Daniel the commissioner. They were cousins of Daniel of Duddington. William Dudley Digges was proprietor of Chillum Castle Manor, or Green Hill Manor, where L'Enfant found asylum during the poverty and obscurity of his last years. Griffith Coombe was a prosperous business man with activities in many angles and a generous benefactor of the Church. Nicholas Queen bequeathed Queen's Chapel to Bishop Carroll and his assigns. James D. Barry was the nephew and executor of James Barry, merchant prince, friend of Archbishop Carroll and benefactor of Mother Seton in her struggling years. Daniel of Duddington led the list of subscribers with twenty shares of the stock, costing $20,000. His home sheltered the local court until better arrangements could be made. Various uses were applied to his group of buildings known as Carroll's Row.

What debt the nation owes to Daniel Carroll for saving the fair name city of the Great Patriot from sinking into insignificance is yet to be properly and adequately produced from the vast documentary evidence which has accumulated through the years. But what debt the memory of L'Enfant and the restoration of his magnificant ground plan rests under in this consideration is another part of Daniel Carroll's record which has never been judicially treated. If Carroll and the powerful family connection owning property within the confines of the city L'Enfant was

endeavoring to create were responsible for his anguish and disappointment, they were also the direct agents of his splendid and complete triumph, typified in the labors of the Fine Arts Commission in the present engineering and building program. This significant achievement must eventually emerge from the clouds which shadow this worthy and useful citizen of Washington's opening years and dispel the tradition of avarice, stubborness, and oppression of the unfortunate.

MARGARET BRENT DOWNING.

A CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE[1]

A great many people in our day seem to be quite convinced that it is practically impossible for a man to be abreast of the times in knowledge and especially in knowledge of the physical sciences, and yet continue to be a firm believer in Christianity. They are altogether ready to insist that only those who are out of touch with the discoveries that have been made in the sciences during the twentieth century and just before can still continue to maintain anything like their old-fashioned faith. If you are modern minded at all in the sense of keeping up to date in scientific knowledge, then you must be modernistic and create a new religion or make a new god for yourself because the old religion and the God of our fathers cannot possibly satisfy your desire for truth.

Almost needless to say this attitude of mind is not new in any sense of the word. Whenever there has been a great new development of education in any line, there has always been a tendency for men to think that they knew so much more about things in general than their fathers did that they could scarcely be expected to accept or be satisfied with the faith that their ignorant fathers had so complacently accepted. This was notably true in the time of the Renaissance. Men who knew and admired very much the thoughts of the old classic authors, felt that they could not be expected to accept what in deprecation they called the thinking or philosophy of life of their Gothic ancestors. They talked of the architecture that satisfied their forbears as Gothic, very much in the sense of barbarian, for they were deeply intent on Renaissance architecture founded on old classical ideas. For Gothic literature it was the same thing. As a matter of fact, that Gothic literature which includes the Cid in Spain and the Arthur legends in

[1] Paper read at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1929.

England, the Meistersingers and the Minnesingers, and the Troubadours and Trouvères, with Dante as the culmination of it, is a supremely great literature, greater in many ways than anything the Renaissance did.

Many of the people at the time of the Renaissance, however, gave up their belief in old-fashioned Christianity after contemptuously holding up scholastic philosophy, as the characteristic Christian philosophy, to scorn, and they took up with a vapid mythological religion founded somewhat on the old Olympic religion of the Greeks or at least they pretended to. Human thinking runs in cycles this way, and while the water that flows under the bridge is never the same, there is always the stream flowing by and men are inclined to think that it is carrying away some of the supports of old-fashioned belief, though after centuries things prove to be about what they were before.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the attitude of scientists generally was in much greater opposition to religion and especially to Christianity than is science in this generation of ours. A wave of materialism swept over science and from Haeckel's monism to Tyndall's declaration that all was contained in the promise and potency of matter, it seemed as though scientists were or would very shortly be committed to the idea that matter was everything and everything else was nothing. As has been well said, however, man is incurably religious. There is something in us that makes us recur inevitably to the thought of another world than this and a great ruling Spirit on Whom all depends. No tribe of savages, no matter how low it was in the scale of civilization, has ever been found which did not have a cult with these elements of religion. It was said for a time that the Terra del Fuegans had no inkling of religion but further investigation proved that they had, and this is what has always proved to be the case. Over and over again preliminary announcements of travelers have seemed to indicate that at last one of these irreligious peoples had been found, but only to have the declaration contradicted later.

It was before the impetus of this deep natural feeling that the materialism of the later nineteenth century gradually lost its hold over the minds of men. As Edna St. Vincent Millay in one of her poems said, why if we are but dust are we continually building ladders to the skies?

As a matter of fact, it was only the smaller men in science that were affected deeply by the wave of materialism. When in the midst of it a good old French curé asked Pasteur whether his science did not disturb his faith, you all recall that he said:

> If I knew all I would like to know, I should have the faith of a Breton peasant; if I knew all there was to know, I should have the faith of a Breton peasant woman.

There was a tradition at the Pasteur Institute when I was there thirty-five years ago that Pasteur once said:

> If a man has only a little bucket of a mind and gets so much science into it that there is not room for both science and faith, faith being lighter comes flowing out at the top, but if he has a large bucket of a mind there is plenty of room in it for both science and faith.

The greater scientists in our day have come to recognize very generally that materialism is quite absurd, and to say that things happen just because they happen or that all the varied universe around us and, above all, all the manifestations of life have come into existence as the result of becoming, that is evolution, postulating a process for a cause, can satisfy those only who have no real power of thought. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century men like Ostwald declared that anything like teleology was utterly unscientific, but teleology is once more in repute. A great many of our most prominent scientists are quite ready to declare that the order of the universe requires a Creator and a Ruler. There must be mind behind it, somehow not unlike that which we possess ourselves. That mind must above all possess an appreciation for beauty that is not unlike that to be found in men and especially in those minds that we call creative because they are able to make out of their inner consciousness things that have

a universal appeal to mankind and that produce pleasure, for "a thing of beauty is a joy forever". It is this that enables us to understand, if though but in a vague way, that sublime expression that man was created in God's image and likeness.

There is something in man that far surpasses this body of his and which enables him to think thoughts that have never been in the world before, to learn the meaning of things from their appearances and their relationships and above all to draw out of his inner being objective realities that inevitably make those who see them think of the world around them and of its coming into existence with all the beauties that it has.

So far as modern science is concerned the most interesting thing about it is that the great basic discoveries in it were made by men who were Catholics to a very great extent and not a few of them Catholic priests. The great basic inventions and discoveries in electricity are striking testimony to this. The Leyden jar, the first condensation of electrical phenomena that made it very clear that there must be a great force involved in it, was the invention of Canon Kleist, the canon of a Catholic cathedral at Kammin in Pomerania. The next great forward step in electricity, the invention of a frictional electrical machine, is usually attributed to Father Gordon, a Benedictine, of Nuremberg. Then came Abbé Beccaria who studied a number of electrical phenomena very successfully, and for his work was made a member of the Royal Society of England when he was but thirty-five years of age. About this same time Father Diwisch, a member of the Premonstratensian order, invented a machine by which he was able to accumulate electricity from the clouds and suggest the identification of lightning and electricity, not before Franklin, but before any hint of Franklin's successful work in this line reached Europe.

After these great clergymen electricians, came a series of great laymen who made a series of discoveries which laid the foundation of modern electrical science. First there was Galvani after whom very properly galvanism is named, and then Volta whose name has been taken by the decision of the International Congress of

Electricians as the term for one of the units of electricity. Then came Coulomb, after whom another unit is named, and then Ampère, one of the great lights of electricity. Italians and Frenchmen shared in this pioneer work and then came the German, Ohm, whose name was taken for another one of the electrical units, that of resistance. Ohm was not himself a Catholic but he was teaching in a Jesuit school when he established his great law that the current strength was equal to the electro-motive force divided by the resistance. Ohm would not have had the opportunity to devote himself to electrical research, for he was not in favor with the educational authorities in Germany, only that the Jesuit school at Cologne supplied him with the opportunity. The next two great names in electricity, Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin, are not Catholics but they were intense believers. None of these great original thinkers and discoverers lost their faith. They found their discoveries perfectly compatible with religious belief and indeed Lord Kelvin went so far as to declare that science proclaims the existence of a Creator.

Clerk Maxwell possessed one of the most penetrating minds of the nineteenth century and yet he was most devout in the practice of his religion. It was he that said to a friend during his last days when he was dying in pain from cancer, "Old chap, I've read up many queer religions; there is nothing like the old thing after all; and I've looked into most philosophical systems and I've seen that none would work without a God." He not only found no difficulty at all as regards science and religion but he was perfectly sure that the more penetrating the mind the easier it was to accept the existence of a Creator.

It was he that emphasized the fact that the original thinkers in science, the men who by research make original discoveries, are usually firm believers in religious truth. It is the secondary scientists, the men who have learned their science from books and obtained it easily, who are most likely to find science and faith incompatible. The original scientist knows how much there is to know that he would like to know yet does not know, that he is

ready to believe in the mysteries of religion to help out his lack of knowledge for an understanding or philosophy of life and the universe.

A number of people would say that it is not so surprising that the physical scientists should accept religion, since they have to do with the great mystery of the universe around us, but that the biologists who devote themselves to the science of life might find insuperable difficulty. After all it is evolution as it involves the science of life that is supposed to have taken away belief in religion. The author of a recent life of Darwin (Gamaliel Bradford) described him as the man who "made hell a laughing stock and heaven a dream. . . . The gentle, tolerant and lovable man who overturned the world of thought, shifted the whole attitude of science and upheaved the very foundation of religion and morality." It is true in biology, however, just as in electricity that the greatest workers in science, the men who before and after Darwin have been the greatest contributors to biology, have been Catholics and once more some of them Catholic priests, very faithful in their adhesion to the Church and their practice of their religious duties. One of the most important pioneers in modern biology is undoubtedly Abbé Spallanzani, whose studies on ferments and digestion and above all whose researches with regard to regeneration threw light on this important question which now proves to be one of the stumbling blocks for the Darwinian theory of natural selection.

The great pioneer in anthropology, the man who demonstrated that the remains of man were contemporary with those of many extinct species of animals and therefore suggested the lengthening of the period on which man is on the earth, was Father John MacEnery whose researches were made at the cavern of Torquay in England. The next important clerical pioneer in biology was Abbot Mendel, whose name has been more mentioned than any other during the twentieth century so that it would be perfectly possible to say that not an issue of a biological journal for the past twenty-five years has been made without some reference to

the name of Mendel and often with important articles, sometimes two and three of them, on the subject of Mendelism and Mendel's laws. Mendel was so good a member of the Augustinians in the little town of Brünn, that they elected him superior of the monastery.

And then there are a series of Catholic laymen who did wonderfully progressive work in biology. The first of these is Lamarck, to whom we owe the first scientific presentation of the theory of evolution. This was so well done that a number of scientists in the modern time confess that they are followers of Lamarck rather than of Darwin, and the neo-Lamarckians feel that they have an explanation of the origin of species more satisfying to the human intellect than Darwinism. Lamarck lived through the French Revolution but seems to have retained his faith for he was married, his children were baptized, and he himself was buried in the Church, his parish church in Paris.

After Lamarck in biology come such great names among Catholic scientists as Theodor Schwann, usually hailed as the father of the cell doctrine; Johannes Muller, the greatest biologist of the nineteenth century, and according to Virchow one of the greatest teachers of science who ever lived; and Claude Bernard to whom we owe the initiation of whatever knowledge we have with regard to the ductless glands which has now become one of the most important subjects in medicine. The greatest observer in the biological sciences at the end of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly Fabre, the French entomologist. Darwin declared that he was incomparably the greatest observer that ever lived. He has been hailed as the Homer of the insects, and anyone who knows his work is sure to be aware of the fact that here indeed was a man who could not only see and see the meaning of things, but who could connect things that he saw in such a way as to make it very clear that he had a power of inference and reasoning that set him far above the generality of men. Like Claude Bernard for a time in his middle years he gave up the practice of religion but he came back to it at the end of life.

Under these circumstances it is easy to understand that a Catholic whose forebears in religion have laid the great foundation in the sciences during the past four hundred years from Vesalius and Copernicus down to Laplace and Lamarck and Mendel, need have no fears for science disturbing his faith. The revolutionary ideas in science are all of them rather old and the connotations they carry and the conclusions they suggest have been thoroughly digested by great Catholic scientists without causing any disturbance of their faith. Copernicanism with its demonstration of how puny man was compared to the universe of which man with a superiority complex that seems very amusing now had looked upon himself as the central figure, might easily have been expected to upset men's ways of thinking, but as a matter of fact it had very little effect. It took a good while for men in general to grasp the new ideas and in the meantime in certain ways they had grown accustomed to the new conclusions with all their innuendoes. The result was that Copernicanism drifted in and gradually became assimilated to men's ways of thinking without producing any very great revolution in thought though men came eventually to accept doctrines that at first seemed quite impossible. Nearly a hundred years after the publication of Copernicus' book, Francis Bacon still did not accept the theory. There were many such scientists, all the astronomers to Galileo, with him. Men were thus saved the shock of the sudden change.

It has been suggested that the theory of evolution worked such another revolution in men's ways of thinking as that of Copernicanism. Hence the expression that I have quoted from a biographer of Darwin that he "made hell a laughing stock and heaven a dream." That may have been true for a certain number of people who had not been in touch with science and its advance in immediately preceding generations and whose philosophy was not deep enough to see that while Darwin was a great observer, he was not a philosopher at all and therefore failed to think his thoughts out to their legitimate conclusion. For Darwin in spite of the title of his book, *The Origin of Species,* had nothing to say about ori-

gins. What he discussed was preservations. The secondary title of his book, the true title, was, "The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life". As to where the races came from originally or where the tendency to vary came from, Darwin has nothing to say.

Long before Darwin there had been quite definite discussion of the theory of evolution. Darwin's own grandfather had sketched it out very clearly though Darwin says that he was not affected by his grandfather's teaching. Lamarck, as we have said, worked out a theory of evolution that some people think more significant than that of Darwin. It was published nearly fifty years before *The Origin of Species*. Before Darwin's time Newman had published his very important work which all the English speaking world recognized as a significant contribution to thought, his *Essay in Development*, which applied the principle of evolution to religion itself. Catholics were but little disturbed then by the theory of evolution and men like St. George Mivart from the Catholic position pointed out its significance.

There is no need in the world for a Catholic to be modernistic, that is to think that modern science has compelled him in any way to modify essential doctrines of Christianity or else stultify himself by accepting contradictory propositions. There is nothing in Christianity that has been contradicted by modern scientific advance and it is still perfectly possible for a man to accept wholeheartedly all the doctrines of Christianity and yet maintain his intellectual probity and his sincere recognition of truth. There is so much that we do not know and that we know that we do not know, so many scientific mysteries that we have to take on faith, so many basic truths that we cannot comprehend, that it is comparatively easy to accept the mysteries of religion especially when they are certificated for us by revelation. If there have been no contradictions of faith down to the present time, it is not at all likely that there will be.

The one thing that is most disturbing to a great many men in our time is the fact that man is such a puny creature in the face

of the universe. When he was the lord of the earth and the earth was the most important body in the universe with sun and stars and moon going around it, man seemed majestic in his dignity. The contradiction of this has produced the pessimism of the modern time. But man is not such a puny creature if he has been able to work out the laws of this immense universe around him and to trace its ultimate parts to their location. He who can work out distances that amount to thousands of light years and yet assign them with confidence, is no puny creature. He has a mind capable of grasping the universe in spite of its huge size, and by the very fact that he can grasp it, he is greater than it. It is his mind, however, and not his body. His body is that of the animals, but his mind is like that of the Creator Himself, and that is why we accept complacently the declaration that man was made in the image of his Creator. He has a power of comprehension, a sense of beauty, an intellectual penetration and an intuition of the meaning of things that make him a much larger and more significant being than was the physical man in the time when the earth was supposed to be the very centre and principle of things.

Curiously enough there are two articles in current magazines, *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, which seem to me to indicate that there are a good many people who feel that there must be a better support for morals than is afforded by the current philosophy of life. Still more curiously, both of these articles are written by men who were Catholics and years ago abandoned their faith, and now would seem in a way at least to be working back as a consequence of the necessity that they feel under of supporting morality. One of the articles is on "The Crisis in Morals" by Professor Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford, and who has been for years the president of the League of Nations Union, and who therefore is presumably internationally minded. He asks himself the question whether certain of the suggestions with regard to the absence of sin in many activities that have been looked upon as extremely sinful are to be considered so or not. He thinks that he has a

personal dislike, predominately a feeling of fastidiousness, an aesthetic repulsion, which shows him that such things are wrong. He says that we are passing through a time of strain and change and managing the necessary readjustments on the whole with good success. He feels that the Censor (Freudian) or conscience will help us out.

The other article is much more to the point. It is by William Sullivan who used to be a Paulist and who writes on "The Anti-Religious Front". He does not hesitate to say that, "The whole anti-religious effort, especially as we observe it in America, is abrupt and slip-shod." He says further, "When we consider how flat and common, how destitute of insight and emaciated in power the proffered substitutes for God are, we are obliged to say that the whole design slithers away to very dreary stuff at the end." Some of his sentences are striking bits of English. He speaks of men who are counselling us to extinguish the life of the spirit and he comments:

> They imply that there is a new firmament—the abdomen; a new end for philosophy—to prove that man is ridiculous; a new purpose for culture—to bestow on animalism the touch of the aesthete; a new conception of morals—to show that conscience is barbarous; and a new ideal for the home—to be an interlude in the pursuit of promiscuity. High lords of thought are saying aloud what twenty years ago the brothel would not have said above a whisper. By such means felicity and dignity are promised to our children, kept happily ignorant that once a luminous spirit spoke in Galilee and fortunately delivered from the peril of fidelity to a holy and glorious God.

And then in the contributors' column, as it seems to me, the editorial comment tries to turn the edge of Dr. Sullivan's logic. We need the old-fashioned Catholic philosophy of life and it is just as much proof against the objections that have been made against it now as it ever was. Modern science has only brought us to the place where we realize more and more the need of a great teacher, an infallible teacher, one on whom we can depend, one that has been dependable all these nineteen centuries in spite

of the vicissitudes of human thought and our great advance in information rather than in real knowledge; for information is easy, genuine knowledge is difficult; for facts are truths, but facts are not truth unless you have all the facts. In the meantime wisdom lingers but is justified of her children.

JAMES J. WALSH.

PAPAL CONCORDATS IN MODERN TIMES[1]

In Rome on February 11, 1929, two agreements were signed between the Holy See and Italy. One of these, because it settled the Roman Question, was immediately recognized as taking rank among the most important documents in history and attracted the attention not of statesmen and scholars only but of the whole civilized world, with the result that the other was left somewhat in the background. The purpose of the present paper is to remedy this, not by treating of the Lateran Concordat itself[2] but rather to investigate some external features of concordats in general and thus contribute to an understanding of this one in particular.

Obviously there are two possible methods of proceeding: We can begin by laying down abstract principles on the nature of ecclesiastical power and the nature of civil power, with logical consequences deduced therefrom. But this method, while undoubtedly of value, is liable to the danger attending all *a priori* discussion, namely that of losing contact with concrete fact and wandering in a maze of unreality. Besides, being philosophical rather than historical it would not be the method expected of one addressing a gathering such as this. For these reasons, then, we shall tread a different path. We shall confine ourselves to certain salient facts within a well-defined area and leave to the hearer the task of deducing the principles from these facts. In other words, instead of enquiring: What is a concordat in idea or in theory? we shall enquire: What have concordats been in fact? We shall present the information in the form of answers to questions that naturally suggest themselves. For our purpose it will suffice to investigate briefly a few of the concordats of the nineteenth century, basing the selection not on their intrinsic

[1] Read at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1929.

[2] See Bernardini, "The Lateran Concordat with Italy", *Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1930.

importance but on their value as examples by reason of the form in which they were drawn up, the matters they treat of, or certain special circumstances connected with them. They are:

1—The Concordat with France, 1801;
2—The Concordat with Bavaria, 1817;
3—The Concordat with Prussia, 1821;
4—The Concordat with Hanover, 1824;
5—The Concordat with Lucca, 1826;
6—The Concordat with the Netherlands, 1827;
7—The Concordat with the Rhine Provinces, 1827;
8—The Concordats with Lucerne, Berne, Soleure and Zug, 1828-1830;
9—The Concordat with Modena, 1841;
10—The Concordats with Spain, 1845, 1851;
11—The Concordat with Costa Rica, 1852;
12—The Concordats with Guatemala, 1852, 1884;
13—The Concordats with Austria, 1855, 1881;
14—The Concordat with Würtemberg, 1857;
15—The Concordat with Baden, 1859;
16—The Concordat with Portugal, 1886;
17—The Concordat with Pondicherry, 1886.

If you glance at these documents as they are printed in Mercati's *Raccolta di Concordati* (Rome, 1919) you will notice that while they are all included under the general term "concordat", they are on the surface of considerable variety. Thus, for example, the Concordat with Napoleon has all the appearance of a treaty, that with Pondicherry is a short state paper terse as a business document and with little of diplomatic formality, while the Concordat with Modena is really two distinct papers, one a Bull of Pope Gregory XVI and the other a Decree of the Duke of Modena. But since all record explicit agreements with the Holy See and secular powers purporting to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in the respective territories they are grouped under the common designation.

First: Why are such agreements made? A naif person might reason that since the Church is a spiritual kingdom with her own laws and her own officials, she ought to do her work in the world without regard to secular governments and should not need an

army of trained diplomats skilled in the traditions of statecraft dealing with the wily astute spokesmen of secular governments. But such a conception would betray an ignorance of the salient fact that the Church, while certainly not *of* the world, is no less certainly *in* the world, and a wicked world it is, ever ready to hamper and even to destroy her beneficent activities. She can protect herself and pursue her divine mission only by joining to the simplicity of the dove the wisdom of the serpent. In normal circumstances she is able to display her more winning aspect as the Healer of the Nations, but when the circumstances are not normal (and they never are in all parts of the world at any one time) she is forced to employ whatever natural gifts of keenness, shrewdness, acumen, dexterity, even personal polish and charm, that her Founder has placed at her disposal. To neglect such resources would be not confidence but presumption.

This then is the answer to the question. Concordats come into being to remedy or regularize abnormal situations. Not that the abnormality is necessarily the result of violence or persecution. Sometimes it consists of abuses which have grown up slowly in the course of time and call for remedy, sometimes it consists merely of anachronisms, customs which however excellent at their origin have become out of date and require to be modified or abolished. But alas only too often is it the outcome of warfare on the Church, and then the concordat assumes somewhat of the character of a treaty of peace wherein the Church surrenders some accidentals to preserve essentials. One such concordat was that with Napoleon (1801). For more than ten years Europe had been upset by the French Revolution and its immediate consequences. Deism, positivism, atheism, had strutted on the stage of France; the Church in that land was rent asunder, some of the bishops in schism and the rest in exile; and out of this welter of confusion had emerged a new form of government that was showing signs of permanence. Pursuing her traditional policy of accepting a *de facto* government without presuming to dictate principles of legitimacy or abstract right, the Church seized the

opportunity of regaining peace by entering into an explicit agreement with the powers that were, even though her action entailed the rupture of relations with the ancient Bourbon dynasty and, which was more difficult to bear, the seeming desertion of prelates who had in the darkest hour remained faithful to the Holy See. The act can be understood and justified only in the lurid light of abnormality. Likewise, the Prussian Concordat of 1821 was the final act in a long drama that had begun far back in the revolt of northern Germany in the sixteenth century. Prussia is the only European state that owes to the Reformation its very existence as an important political power. Other states fattened on Protestantism, Prussia was born of it. And the long rule of Frederick II (1740-1786) marked the culmination of Protestant power in Prussia. Like Henry VIII he aimed at supreme control of religious as well as civil affairs, with the difference that instead of seeking to extirpate Catholicism he sought to reduce it to the level of subjection of the Lutheran State Church. Silesia, a Catholic land wrested from Austria, presented the occasion. He set up at Breslau a bishop independent of Rome, legislated concerning marriage, and persistently ignored the claims of worthy Catholics to civil posts. His successor, Frederick William II (1786-1797), presumed in 1794 to regulate by the Code of Common Law the affairs of the Church as though she were a mere department of the State; and the acquisition later on of the Rhine districts afforded still further opportunities for persecution. It was to end an intolerable situation that Pius VII began in 1814 the negotiations which seven years later, after considerable hindrances that seriously narrowed the scope of the agreement, issued in a concordat. The same can be said of the Concordat with the Netherlands in 1827, though otherwise this agreement is, owing to subsequent political changes, not of actual interest. By the Congress of Vienna the land now known as Belgium was made an integral part of the Kingdom of the Low Countries, a Catholic nation thus being subjected to Protestant rule. Religious sentiment as well as patriotism rebelled, and when the King of Holland

embarked on a policy of enslaving the Church in his newly-acquired territories, he lit the flame of revolt that consumed Dutch rule in Belgium. The Concordat of 1827, by regulating the points at issue (chiefly diocesan boundaries and the appointment of bishops) might have preserved Belgium to the Dutch Crown if made sooner, but the Netherlands saw the light too late.

Thus might we go on considering the circumstances that gave rise to each of the concordats and we should find invariably that an abnormal situation had arisen (though as we have said not necessarily by violence) with which normal methods were unable to cope—hence a concordat.

The next question is: Who makes a concordat? We do not mean to enquire who the ultimate contracting parties are, for such a question would be otiose, since evidently they are the Holy See acting in its spiritual capacity and a civil government. But we mean: Who are the persons that actually conduct the negotiations and sign the agreement? Usually they are persons especially delegated for that purpose, at least two on each side (assisted by advisers) and meeting in Rome or in the country concerned. I do not know of a nineteenth-century concordat signed in a third or "neutral" country, as post-war treaties often are. The signers of the French Concordat (1801) were Consalvi, Spina and Caselli on the papal side, and Joseph Bonaparte, Cretet and Bernier on the French side. The chief signer on the papal side, Consalvi, was a regular permanent official, the Papal Secretary of State, but seemingly it was not in that capacity that he signed but by virtue of special delegation; for the Concordat begins with the formula frequently employed in such documents: "Sanctitas Sua Summus Pontifex Pius VII, atque Primus Consul Gallicae reipublicae in suos respective plenipotentiarios nominarunt", and then follow the names of the acredited negotiators, after which comes: "Pariter munitos facultatibus in bona et debita forma. Qui, post sibi mutuo tradita respectivae plenipotentiae instrumenta, de iis quae sequuntur convenerunt". This is the form usually prefixed to a treaty between secular powers and is found

frequently in concordats, but it is not invariable. Thus, the Concordat with Austria of 1881 is signed at Rome by Cardinal Jacobini, Secretary of State, and Paar, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, no special plenipotentiaries having been appointed, but the negotiations being conducted through regular permanent channels. Likewise the Concordat with Guatemala (1884) was signed by Cardinal Jacobini and Arroyo, the Guatemalan Minister, though both are described as "authorized". And no names at all are mentioned in the body of the Concordat with "The Government of the French Republic for Pondicherry" (1886), the reason possibly being that one of the contracting parties was not a sovereign state. Still another form is found, that namely in which only the name of the Pope and that of the secular sovereign are mentioned and the concordat presented as a sort of personal agreement. This occurs in the Concordat with Prussia (1821) and in the Concordat with Hanover (1824), the latter being especially interesting from the fact that the Holy See was, in negotiating with the King of Hanover, dealing with George IV of England, a sovereign with whom as King of Great Britain and Ireland (titles explicitly set forth in the document) it could according to English law have no diplomatic representative. The recent appointment of an Apostolic Nuncio to the Irish Free State brought this difficulty again forward, the Concordat of 1824 pointing the way to a solution. Finally: When the Concordat is a Bull it is, of course, issued in the name of the Pope, and the decree of acceptance is issued in the name of the secular sovereign.

The next question is: What of the direct invocation of God? Strange as it may seem, such invocation is not the rule. Maybe the reason is that the nature of the matters treated of implies a wish for the protection of God; still the student may be struck by the absence of formulas commonly found at the beginning of important documents, both public and private, and he is relieved when he lights on the words "In Nomine Sanctissimae Trinitatis" in the (abortive) Concordat with Spain of 1845, and "In Nomine Sanctissimae et Individuae Trinitatis" in the Concordat with the same country of 1851. The same or similar

formulas are found in the Concordats with Costa Rica (1852), Guatemala (1852), Austria (1855), Würtemberg (1857), Baden (1859), Portugal (1886), and some others. As far as I know, every concordat with a Spanish-speaking or Portuguese-speaking country opens with some such formula of invocation.

What matter is covered by the agreement? At first such a question might appear meaningless, for a concordat being a contract follows the rules of contracts, so that every promise, agreement or concession explicitly set forth in the body of the document, and nothing else, is what the parties engage to fulfil. No one questions this in theory, but occasionally secular powers have added to the text provisions of their own not included among the points agreed on. That these additions have no binding force is evident, but secular governments are not always so respectful toward the claims of logic or of justice as is desirable, and have sometimes put forth quite unwarranted appendixes as part of the original agreement. The most notorious instance of this form of duplicity is the addition by Napoleon to the Concordat of 1801 of the "Organic Articles", a set of regulations not only unknown to the papal signatories but immediately on publication protested against and never accepted. A still more flagrant if less well known abuse of this kind occurred in connection with the agreements concluded by the Holy See with the Provinces of the Rhine. In all the history of diplomacy it is difficult if not impossible to find a more loathsome tale of sheer unblushing deceit. Before entering on the negotiations at all the Rhenish governments drew up a secret code which they knew the Pope could not accept and pledged themselves to it. Then, after tedious negotiations they accepted the terms of the Holy See. Then, when Rome had faithfully fulfilled her part of the agreement they published and put into effect their own regulations. The evil results of this stupid dishonesty are evident in Germany down to the days of the Kulturkampf. We can readily perceive the injury such practices work on the Church; for, when the Church refuses to be bound by these spurious additions, the secular government makes it ap-

pear that she is not keeping her word and is therefore responsible for the bad relations that inevitably ensue.

Who carries out the provisions of a concordat? Usually one of the parties is entrusted with this function, the other assisting as far as is necessary. But in the Prussian Concordat of 1821, which is in the form of a Bull, the task was committed entirely to a single individual, the Bishop of Worms.

What languages are used? When there are parallel texts the languages are Latin and the vernacular of the country making the agreement, except that the official translation of the Concordat with the Netherlands (1827) is in French, not in Dutch. When the concordat is in the form of a Bull or Brief, Latin is the language, though to this there is a partial exception, viz., the Concordat with Lucca (1826), which begins and ends in Latin but expresses the points of agreement in Italian.

These questions have their interest and their value but they would hardly deserve extended treatment except for some special reason. The radical problem is not included among them but touches a more vital point: Is a concordat a concession of a superior power to an inferior, the ecclesiastical to the secular or the secular to the ecclesiastical, or is it a treaty between equals? From a study of the concordats here cited this fact emerges: Now and then expressions occur which clearly indicate that a particular concordat is of the nature of a concession by the Church to a government, as the words "indulgemus", "sinimus", "condescendenze" in the Concordat with Modena (1841). As a rule, however, there is nothing in the text to indicate that the contracting parties are not considered to be as far as concerns the concordat on a footing of equality. But to conclude from this that the Church claims no superiority over the kingdoms of this world would be hasty and unwarranted. Conscious of the divinity of her origin and her mission she can not renounce the status received from God Himself; but in her motherly solicitude for the welfare of mankind she is always ready not merely to sacrifice the non-essential to gain or preserve the essential but even to go

to the extent of refraining from the assertion of her inherent rights when by such condescension and gentleness she can gain souls to Christ. In dealing with secular governments she is willing to descend for the time from her lofty throne and deal with them as though she were one of them. She ever shows herself not only solicitous to respect the rights of temporal rulers but even careful to avoid any act that might offend their sensibilities. It was a delicate considerateness for Spain that delayed the concordats with the Latin-American countries. And once she has put her hand to an agreement she observes its stipulations rigorously. To her a concordat is never a scrap of paper but a solemn engagement in the sight of God. When a concordat is to be changed or abrogated she endeavours to act as would a gentleman who desires to modify or terminate an agreement with a friend; when a concordat is rudely broken the bad manners are never found on the side of the Church. And the care with which she "renders to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" is a lesson, a standing rebuke, to those powers of this world that are not always ready to "render to God the things that are God's".

EDWIN RYAN.

MISCELLANY

THE HISTORICO-ECCLESIASTICAL MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

The object of this short paper is to make known the principal works published lately in the historico-ecclesiastical field in Spain.

In the General Archives of the Crown of Aragon, in Barcelona, and in the Cathedrals of Vich, Gerona and Urgel are to be found ten pontifical documents which belong to the ninth century and are written on papyrus. It is a well known fact that documents of the Holy See written on this kind of material are very scarce; there are only three in Italy, twelve in France and ten in Spain. Due to the frailty of the material on which they were written, these documents were in great danger of being destroyed, as the pages were shriveling little by little. As soon as Pope Pius XI was informed of this, he hastened to offer to the Spanish government and to the Spanish bishops the help of the Vatican workshop for their restoration. This work has already been done and the precious documents have been returned to their possessors. Doctor Kehr, Director of the Prussian Archives, with the help of the Academy of Berlin, has made an excellent reproduction of these documents.

This same scholar, with the cooperation of several German and Spanish investigators, has begun the work of the *Hispania Pontificia* similar to the *Germania Pontificia* and *Italia Pontificia*. Three volumes have been already published: one containing the documents of Catalonia; another those of Navarre and Alto Aragon, and another, those of Portugal. The plan is to reproduce, entirely or in extracts, the pontifical documents previous to the twelfth century preserved in Spanish Archives. At the same time that these diplomas were published, Doctor Kehr made some very interesting studies on the influence of the Papacy in the Iberian Peninsula which were published in the Academies of Berlin and Goettingen.

After the appearance of the important studies of Dom Mario Férotin on the Mozarabic Liturgy, curiosity concerning this subject was aroused. The principal investigators are the Benedictine Fathers of the Abbey of Silos, located in the province of Burgos. Besides the

publication of the *Manuel de Liturgia Hispano-Visigoda o Mozarabe* (Madrid, 1927), there has appeared also the *Antifonario* of the Cathedral of Leon preserved in manuscript from the eleventh century, taken from another of the time of king Wamba in the seventh century (Burgos, 1928). The texts of this antiphonary are very important in determining the Latin version of the Bible used by the Spanish Fathers of the Visigothic period. But the principal merit of this old manuscript of Leon consists in its musical notation which has neither clef nor staff. Up to the present date it was difficult to find the real value of the neums. The famous musician of Fribourg in Switzerland, Doctor Wagner, published not long ago the different existing opinions on this subject but without offering any real solution. It seems that the difficulty has been solved by the Benedictine Fathers of Silos themselves in a magnificent publication which appeared in Barcelona in the year 1929.

Several years ago there was exhibited in the National Library of Madrid a large number of the illuminated manuscripts in the possession of Spain, which were for the greater part taken from the several libraries of the Spanish monasteries and cathedrals. Due to their antiquity, wealth, originality and color they provoked the attention of natives and foreigners alike. At the same time it was proposed to publish a volume reproducing the most famous specimens, which would serve as a basis for the study of the art of miniature painting in the Iberian peninsula. This has now been carried into effect in a volume entitled, *Exposición de Códices Minados Españoles Catálogo* (Barcelona, 1929). The author is Señor Dominguez Bordona, archivist of the National Library of Madrid, and in charge of the manuscript division of the same library.

The volume has an excellent appearance. A small folio, printed on linen paper with special type cast exclusively for this purpose, bound in genuine leather in Mozarabic style, replete with beautiful illustrations, it presents to the eye a beauty, wealth and sumptuousness, perhaps without equal in similar works of this kind. It contains eight prints in colors, imitating the originals, eighty-two illustrations in phototype with the text and eighty-five prints, also in phototype following the text.

The book contains the graphic and documentary history of Spanish miniature painting from its origin in the seventh century up to the seventeenth. With a brevity and carefulness which give great value

to the text, the preface gives the origin and development of the art of miniature painting in its different periods, abstaining from unfounded assertions. After recognizing the oriental origin of its first manifestation in the famous Pentateuch of Ashburnham, now in the possession of the National Library of Paris, which was painted in the sixth century, probably in Spain, it commences with a study of the Mozarabic era, covering the period from the eighth to the twelfth century. In the very few manuscripts at the end of the eighth and ninth centuries which are still preserved, the ornamentation is poor, but typical, as shown in an old manuscript copy of the Etymologies of San Isidore now in the Escorial; the Bible of La Cava near Salerno (Italy), written in a very old style by a certain Danila, perhaps the bishop of the same name who signed the decrees of the Council of Toledo in the 693; the "Hispalense" Bible of the National Library of Madrid and several others. The epoch of greater splendor in the Mozarabic miniatures is represented by the collection of thirteen manuscripts of San Beato de Liebana, being an exposition of the Apocalypse of Saint John, which were done in the Castilian-Leonese region. There can best be studied the general characteristics of our miniatures of the tenth and eleventh centuries, decidedly oriental, full of vigor both in expression and life and in ornamentation and color.

The learned professor of the University of Bonn, Doctor Neuss, believed that the *Beatos* are not exclusively creations of Spanish authors but a transformation of the Paleo-Christian miniature art. Hubert, referring to the Thompsonian, now in the Morgan Library, is of the opinion of the professor of mediaeval art in the University of Madrid, Señor Gomez Moreno, that the *Beatos* were painted in the tenth century, perhaps by Magio, the painter of the Thompsonian. In my own opinion the Byzantinian and the Copto-Egyptian style of our miniature painting are influences left by the Byzantines who dominated the Mediterranean coast of Spain from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the seventh century and who came to Spain from Africa. This orientalism was developed through the importation of manuscripts by Idacio, Saint Martin of Braga, Orosio, Saint Leandro, Juan de Valclara, and other learned men of the Visigothic period who had studied in the Orient. In the seventh century Saint Braulio told Saint Fructuoso of Braga that the Province of Galicia got its culture from Greece and Palestine.

This most interesting point of view places miniature painting in in Spain in a position entirely apart from the rest of Europe and explains its separation from the Roman tradition. The last link in the chain of this type of illuminated manuscripts is shown by the beautiful *Libro de los Testamentos* (Book of the Testaments) of the Cathedral of Oviedo.

In the twelfth century with the introduction into Spain of the Cluniac monks, the Visigothic letter is replaced by the Carolingian. and a corresponding change was attempted in the illumination of the manuscripts. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the gothic style predominated, represented especially by the manuscripts of King Alfonso the Wise (the Songs and the Game of Chess): finally the Renaissance manifests itself in its full splendor in the Missals and Psalters of Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Avila, Guadalupe, and Toledo. The group of Renaissance painters is very numerous; and not a few works of these painters are treasures not inferior to those of Fra Angelico, Raphael or Velasquez. Those interested in the art of Spain, whose number fortunately is increasing every day, have in this volume a splendid work of art, which, apart from the aesthetic pleasure it affords, will greatly aid in the study of the development of this style of painting, up to now almost unknown. Miniature-painting, according to Francisco de Holanda, is an art, "very modest and spiritual, very pleasing to the eyes, which moves the soul to lofty considerations." In truth the workshops in which they were prepared were located in the *scriptoria* of monasteries and in the schools of cathedrals, charming places of culture and asceticism.

There is a great movement in these days in favor of the study of international law, the foundation of which is due to the Dominican, Fray Francisco de Vitoria, professor of the University of Salamanca after the year 1526. In this awakening, a great deal is due to the United States, since a number of eminent scholars of her universities have become interested in the foundation of a chair, named after Maestro Vitoria, in the University of Salamanca. Vitoria truly deserves this since apart from the merit shown in his juridical work, he is responsible for the substitution, in classes of theology, of Saint Thomas for the Master of the Sentences, and he founded the famous Dominican School there. A valuable book on his life and works has been published by Dr. Vincente Beltran de Heredia under the title: *Los Manuscritos del Maestro Fray Francisco Vitoria O. P.* It is a

solid work of direct investigation, from the pen of one of the most competent members of the staff of the review *Ciencia Tomista.*

The Benedictine Father Dom Paul Séjourné, a graduate of the school of Higher Studies in Paris, has published a work on Saint Isidore of Seville, which studies the influence of that encyclopedic mind in the formation and development of Canon Law. Well versed in all the ecclesiastical legislation prior to his time, the Metropolitan of Seville composed a collection called *Hispana,* which served as a guide to the clergy during the Middle Ages, and has left a deep impression on the *Corpus Juris Canonici.* Through this collection the legislative currents, Roman, Oriental, Arlesian and African, were blended together, which brought to the individual Churches of those times the rich advantages of a regular life, which created saintly and learned bishops and also that luxuriant tree of Christian and ascetic life, under the shade of which the monks sheltered themselves like birds from Heaven.

The eminent Director of the Centro de Estudios Historicos, D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, has offered to the public two volumes of *La España Del Cid* (Madrid, 1929-1930), the hero of the history, of the legend and of the epic poetry of Spain. These volumes possess great interest for the history of the Church in the eleventh century, for it was the period when the Mozarabic liturgy was replaced by the Roman, and when the separate kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula became feudatories of the Pope, the Papacy from then on intervening more directly in ecclesiastical matters and also in political life.

Under the general title of *Archivo Historico Español,* the publication has been commenced of a collection of documents, many of them from the Archives of Simancas. One deals with the preparation and failure of the Invincible Armada sent against England by Philip II; and the other contains documents referring to the Council of Trent, which have not been published in the volumes dedicated to this subject by the Goerres Society of Germany. In this material we see the participation of Spain in that great assembly, which was one of the most decisive, not only through her diplomatic representatives and her kings, but also by the direct intervention of her bishops and theologians, who, it may be said, bore the burden of the deliberations.

The fifteenth centennial of the death of Saint Augustine gave occasion to Father Fabo to prepare an excellent book about the Saint's youth: *Juventud ante la critica moderna.* The Bishop of Hippo has

been slandered by some writers, who did not understand his soul. It is certain that in his youth he was guilty of some extravagant actions, but even with all that he revealed the greatness of his soul, enamored of God, of the truth of philosophy, of classical letters and of profound meditation. The author of this work is very familiar with his sources and boldly refutes the wrong ideas current on this provocative theme.

One of the men who contributed most in the sixteenth century to the reform of the Church and to Biblical studies was Cardinal Fray Francisco de Cisneros, Regent of Spain before the accession of Charles V. Not only did he reform the Franciscan Order, but the clergy of all Spain also. His most famous work the *Poliglota De Alcala* has given him a universal reputation. In many other lines he showed his reforming activity and enthusiasm for studies, above all by the foundation of the renowned University of Alcala which has produced many scholars eminent in ecclesiastical sciences. Father Retana, C. SS. R., has therefore consecrated his best efforts to weave the story of the magnificent work of the Spanish Franciscan Cardinal into a single splendid volume, entitled *Cisneros* (Madrid, 1929).

Since 1925, under the patronage of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas (General Tobacco Company of the Philippines), the indefatigable Father Pablo Pastells has been publishing a *Catalogo des documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas, existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Catalogue of the Documents Relative to the Philippine Isles, existing in the Archives of the Indies in Seville). Five volumes have already been published which comprise the documentation from 1494 to 1608, that is, from the discovery till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is a valuable collection, enriched with notes and solid introduction concerning the general history of the Philippine Islands.

We end these notes with the announcement of the foundation of a review of Biblical Studies, *Estudios Biblicos*, written by specialists of the regular and secular clergy, most of them alumni of the Biblical Institute in Rome.

ZACARÍAS GARCÍA VILLADA, S. J.

THE RENAISSANCE AND INDIVIDUALISM[1]

The Renaissance was self conscious. No movement in modern history except perhaps the Russian experiment has had in its service missionaries more eager or apologists more outspoken. Within an incredibly short time it had ingratiated itself with the people of the Italian cities, thence it had sped across the Alps where curiously metamorphosed it found an abiding place in the university towns of Germany, in the Chateaux of France, and the halls of England. This movement was, of course, no intellectual relative of Professor Haskins's *Twelfth Century Renaissance*. That constructive enthusiasm for antiquity rooted upon the saving foundation of Christianity, which occasioned a quickened development in science and art during the Cinquecento, had had an honorable ancestry in the Middle Ages. However, accompanying this active interest in the cultural achievements of antiquity was an ill-considered enthusiasm for the life, spirit, and ideals of paganism. This phase of the Renaissance, popularly known as *The Renaissance* was neither productive nor attractive but it had its vehement admirers then even as now. Though really only a phase, an accompaniment, this "New Thinking" credited itself with the achievements of the Renaissance. This it did, we believe, because it had as a driving force a philosophy, the philosophy of individualism. In this philosophy the enterprising advertising men of the Renaissance saw the source of contemporary accomplishments.

Colluccio Salutati announced enthusiastically and in downright contradiction to sound Christian principles that "Heaven belongs by right to those energetic men who have sustained great struggles and achieved fine works on earth."[2]

A formula for action is obligingly provided by Machiavelli who stated that "It is essential therefore for a Prince who would maintain his position to have learned how to be other than good and to use or not his goodness as necessity requires."[3] Another translation of this neopagan view of life is found in views like these: What has been produced and formed by nature cannot be otherwise than praiseworthy and holy.... Nature is the same or almost the same as God.[4]

[1] Read at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Indianapolis, December, 29, 1928.

[2] Baudrillart, *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism*, 15.

[3] *Il Principe* (N. H. Thomson), 110; see also 45.

[4] Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, I, 15.

These quotations and others typical of the period are reducible to the common denominator of individualism and while it would be some exaggeration to state that the votaries of the New Thinking consciously preached individualism, their words when analyzed leave this as their outstanding doctrine. No doubt these preachers of the New Thinking must have felt justified and vindicated in the extraordinary accomplishments of this time. The Renaissance saw some remarkable men—da Vinci, Savonarola, Raphael, Rabelais, Cervantes, More, Da Gama, Henry IV, and Cortés. Individualists they certainly were. Were their accomplishments, however, due to this philosophy of individualism which appears to be so characteristic of a certain phase of the Renaissance? To believe this it would be necessary to think that individualism was emancipated by the Renaissance. No such thing happened. Individualism had flourished before this. There was individualism of a splendid sort during the Middle Ages.

The character of the individualism of the Middle Ages is too often overlooked. It was based upon the ideal of co-operation and it explains not only the building of the cathedrals, but the flourishing life of the gilds, the growth of universities, even the political institutions still vigorously living.

The catalogue of the great doers of the Middle Ages is not as full as the catalogue of its great deeds. Take the case of the great medieval craftsmen. We happen to know that Meister Hans of Cologne built Burgos's lovely towers and we know that the glorious nave at Amiens was the work of Luzarches although he tried to hide his identity in a labyrinth in the pavement. The names of a few other artists have come down also but there were hundreds who were content to live anonymously in their work. The medieval man did not believe, apparently, that a signature endowed his work with any special virtue. The man of the Renaissance, a different type of individualist, had great faith in his name. The man of the Renaissance was constrained to regard himself as an extraordinary and self-sustaining creature, apart from the society of which he was a member. Cino de Rinucini puts it "They (the men of the Renaissance) avoid all labor for the State either by word or action—saying that he who serves the community serves nobody." [5]

Cleft from the idea of co-operation, far from being conscious of

[5] Pastor, *op. cit.*, 27.

himself as part of an organized body from which he himself derived moral support and with which he should have felt obligated to cooperate, the man of the Renaissance was led to break his own path. But pathbreaking is not invariably a rewarding activity. For the one who blazes the trail, dozens, nay hundreds, may fail and this not because of weakness on the part of the ambitious pathfinder but because individualism may and too often does encourage men to leave without sufficient reason the well tried road. Nor, as is sometimes asserted, is the seeker after the new necessarily a pathfinder. He may be urged by the spirit of caprice to exploit his own individuality. He may be actually entirely irresponsible but finding himself a sufficient authority he goes waywardly along. This course of action was characteristic of much of the life of the Renaissance and it is quite easily discernible by viewing the fine arts.

"The fine arts are always an expression of the historical antecedents, the intellectual, moral and material conditions and the religious beliefs of the peoples and epochs to which they belong. They derive their whole character from these antecedents and conditions and cannot be rightly understood or appreciated without reference to them."[6] This summary may be safely accepted or a briefer one "Art is the touchstone of history."[7] Taking architecture, the most useful of the fine arts, as the most typical of the time, the conclusion is born in on the student that the architecture of the Renaissance is insincere, pagan, and artistically poverty-stricken. Genuine art must be the spontaneous expression of a people. It must grow out of the needs and conditions of the time. The man of the Renaissance dug up from the grave the decadent art of Rome, nurtured it and into this long dead corpse tried to breathe a new life. The corpse however was too genuinely dead. Really by an excess of individualism deflecting the stream of history after fifteen centuries of Christianity, the man of the Renaissance tried to adopt the forms of paganism. The result was a sorry one, for his art was neither Christian nor pagan. Individualism went further. Art to have merit must pay deference to logic and truth. But the man of the Renaissance had his own code. He wrested architectural elements out of their con-

[6] Moore, Chas. H., *The Development and Character of Renaissance Architecture.*

[7] Cram, R. A., *Architecture in its Relation to Civilization*, 1.

text, making window frames of pediments and using the purely structural column as an ornament. And the hopeless lack of logic never seems to have occurred to him.

The sculpture of the Renaissance, the excellence of which is commonly taken for granted, interests historians as well as artists. In character it approached, at least in intention, classical sculpture. A comparison between Renaissance sculpture and that of the Middle Ages is, however, not too easy. Medieval sculpture was largely architectural in purpose. Contrarywise, Renaissance sculpture more frequently stood alone after the manner of a museum piece. In the creation of medieval sculpture one thinks of companies of craftsmen working side by side and medieval sculpture the product of many hands though very likely each piece was actually an individual work. The Renaissance sculptor stood distinctly apart, his fancy unshackled and his work the result of individual conception and technique. Comparison is difficult then because the purposes of the medieval craftsmen and the artists of Cinquecento were so different. Yet there is a comparison to be made and that on the basis of adherence to certain aesthetic principles which are essential for the production of genuinely great art. It is frequently pointed out that Gothic sculpture is wanting in refinement. It is true that in Gothic sculpture there is no slavish imitation of nature.[8] Textures are not chiseled minutely nor is the hair treated naturalistically, but if this is defective treatment it was characteristic of the best classic sculpture. Gothic sculpture brought in something far beyond the value of mere technical perfection. The Gothic craftsmen introduced expression. They portrayed figures that were not so much living as thinking beings. Now the best sculpture of the Renaissance but carried on the best of the sculpture of the medieval tradition. The philosophy of the Renaissance, unrestrained individualism, therefore contributed little, if indeed anything, to this branch of the fine arts. This appears by comparison.

It is not such a far cry from Le Beau Dieu of Rheims, Chartres' the Creation of Adam to Michelangelo's Pietà or the lovely glazings of the Della Robbia. When the work of Niccola Pisano, later by almost a century than the best Gothic sculptures, is recalled, the impossibility of seeing the lusty individualism of the Renaissance as the source of any important development of sculpture is apparent.

[8] Moore, C. H., 397.

The most conspicuous advances in the fine arts during this period were made in painting. Curiously enough, here the artists of the Renaissance received no stimulation from antiquity. The paintings by the pagan artists by this time had quite generally disappeared. The development of painting, however, was of gradual growth. The ancestry goes back to the thirteenth century. The influence of Giotto on the work of later Italian painters is not to be gainsaid. But their work does not explain the general character of the progress of the art. The production of the Van Eycks and other northern painters cannot be isolated from the advance of painting. The progress of painting therefore is a complex story. There is much in it still to be discovered. Many influences certainly were at work but of these the individualism that characterized much of the life of the Renaissance seems to have been of little importance.

In literature the Renaissance, for all the individualism of the practitioners, was woefully bereft of inspiration. There were many word-mongers and rhymesters but few poets in their own right, and the greatest of these (Shakespeare) though of this time was in reality a child of the Middle Ages.

To digress somewhat: although the test was applied to individualism and the fine arts, there is confirmation of its baneful effects in other spheres, i. e., government and religion. Advances in democracy had been painfully made during the "Great Thousand Years." Through its political philosophy the Renaissance showed the way for democracy's overthrow. The *Prince* became the textbook for the Renaissance ideas in government. The road to a divided Christendom with the consequent loss of Christian ideals was close to the principles of the New Thinking.

Almost inevitably, any consideration of the Renaissance will return to those supermen whose deeds literally fill the pages of the history of this period. The list is as impressive as the stature of these leaders is great. The group, however, is by no means homogeneous. The great men of the Renaissance may have been alike—individualists—but certainly they were not all alike. The student of history must be able to differentiate. Some of the great names will be seen as the successors of that anonymous band of craftsmen, scholars, and poets who lived during the Middle Ages. Other names among the outstanding figures of the Renaissance must be given a different classifi-

cation. They too were individualists, but their individualism was a selfish kind. The fine arts were no longer responsive to the ideals and aspirations of the people; they were now subject to the caprice of a very small group of individualists. Government was no longer an instrument for the commonwealth but a vehicle for the despot. Authority, inseparably associated with religion was now subject to individual whim. The Renaissance did not emancipate the individual. It did, however, divorce the individual from the brotherhood of his fellows. Even had the results been invariably most glorious, and surely they were not, this would have been too great a price to pay for the individualism of the Renaissance.

PHILIP J. FURLONG.

BOOK REVIEWS

Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit. By RICHARD LAQUEUR. [*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte,* herausgegeben von E. Hirsh and H. Lietzmann, No. 11.] (Leipzig. 1928. Pp. x, 227.)

This work, as its title might imply, is not a mere sketch of Eusebius as an historian of his own age, but is a brilliant study of the more important problems presented by the last three books of his Ecclesiastical History. The monograph is divided as follows: Introduction: Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History as a Source for its Age; Ch. 1: The Martyrs of Palestine; Ch. 2: The Composition and Development of the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical History; Ch. 3: The Tenth Book; Ch. 4: The Original Extent of the Ecclesiastical History; Conclusion.

Professor Laqueur is particularly concerned with the problem of Book VIII. Through internal criticism he has shown beyond reasonable doubt that the Treatise on the Martyrs of Palestine which we find appended to Book VIII or Book X in a part of our MS. tradition of the Ecclesiastical History constituted practically the original Book VIII. The new historical material that came into the possession of Eusebius in the period following the great persecution of 303-311 A. D., and the growing consciousness of the significance of this persecution in the history of the Church, led him to change radically the form and plan of the original Book VIII, which had been written before copious material from the various sections of the Roman world had become available for his use. He transformed this book into a general but summarized account of the martyrs throughout the world. The material that formed the chief content of the original Book VIII was utilized in part in the revision, but was employed particularly for a more elaborate special work *On the Martyrs of Palestine,* which is extant only in a Syriac translation and in some fragments of the Greek original. The earlier treatise, which constituted most of the original Book VIII of the Ecclesiastical History, as noted above, was not lost, but, in the period following Eusebius, came by chance to be appended in certain MSS. of the Ecclesiastical History to Book VIII or Book X.

Professor Laqueur's analysis of Books IX and X in the light of his discoveries in Book VIII adds materially to our understanding of the arrangement and content of these books and of Eusebius's method of work. It is now reasonably certain that the Ecclesiastical History consisted originally of seven Books, that Eusebius, under pretty well established circumstances, then added Books VIII-X containing a history of his own age, that the Ecclesiastical History underwent several revisions and numerous modifications particularly in its latter portions, and that two of these revisions were

made by the author after 313 A. D. The Ecclesiastical History was, then, as Laqueur characterizes it, truly an *oeuvre vivante.*

The present monograph is a very important contribution to our knowledge. The integrity of the MS. tradition of Eusebius has received further strong confirmation, the development of the Ecclesiastical History into the form in which we now have it has been made really clear for the first time, and a new insight has been given into Eusebius's method of dealing with the history of his own age. Through the solution in particular of the problems of Book VIII, Professor Laqueur has given a new orientation and a new impetus to studies in Eusebius.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

Catholic University of America.

St. Benedict and the Sixth Century. By Dom JOHN CHAPMAN. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. vi, 239.)

This book is a noteworthy contribution to the Benedictine literature. It brings out the following points, some of them new and to a certain extent, surprising: (1) that St. Benedict was a well known figure in his own time, a really famous man; (2) that his chief internal influence on monasticism was not stability, but the authority of the Rule, command instead of counsel; (3) that his rule was written not merely for his own monastery, but as a general rule for monastic life; (4) that it was written at the instance of Pope Hormisdas; (5) that it was used by Justinian in his code of laws; and (6) that Cassiodorus adopted it for his monastery, where it was taken as a matter of course, so familiar that, while freely drawn upon, Cassiodorus does not mention it explicitly. Not all of these points are established with equal historical evidence; the argumentation often follows the line of Higher Criticism on internal grounds. Dom Chapman assigns an earlier date for the Rule than the traditional 530, and also puts the death of the Saint somewhat later than that usually given. He fixes it as not before 553, showing that the earlier date (547) rests on forgeries.

Much is made of certain formularies found in the Rule. However if we take one of them, *si quis,* as an example, little can be established from its use. Dom Chapman has listed twelve places where it is found; there is at least one more instance of it, viz. 71, *si quis autem frater.* In seven of these cases, penalties are attached. But it can hardly be established that because this formula is common in Justinian, Dionysius Exiguus and St. Pachomius, there is a mutual dependence. The formula is Scriptural and traditional (cfr. Mt. xxiv, 23; II Cor. v, 17; Gal. i, 9). It is simply an effect of the personal viewpoint in legislation; in dealing with offenders, the lawmaker is dealing with individuals, not, as many in our own time attempt to do, with abstract conditions or things devoid of freedom. This

personal note is evident also in the New Testament (cfr. Lk. ix, 23; Jn. xii, 26, in which latter text *si quis* occurs twice).

Some of the contacts with Cassiodorus are also rather farfetched. Thus (p. 104) *libenter audite* in Cassiodorus reminds Abbot Chapman of *libenter excipe* in St. Benedict. The only common element is the word *libenter*, which anyone using Latin as the tongue of his daily speech would have selected here. It would be hard to show that Cassiodorus had to go to Benedict for the word *libenter*. Did Cassiodorus use the word Compline? If he did, then this would be a more solid evidence. The reasoning from the absence of contradiction (p. 104) which follows, is also of little value. But taking the chapter on Cassiodorus and the Holy Rule as a whole, the argument is of sufficient weight to make a case.

That Pope Hormisdas requested St. Benedict to write the Rule is merely a surmise. That St. Benedict of his own initiative should have written a rule for monks would not be at all astounding. He had experience in various places and with divers kinds of monks; he was aware of the difficulties and trials of others who undertook to establish monasteries. It is unlikely that there was anything like an *a priori* approval or even an antecedent commission to write. Pope Gregory would hardly have said that the Rule has no little fame, if he meant that it was incorporated into the laws of the empire and made obligatory by the Holy See.

Dom Chapman (p. 180) finds the ladies harsh and hardhearted. His style is usually vigorous, but sometimes trivial, *e. g.*, "caught young" (p. 183). He defends at length the coined word "monasticity". In a footnote (p. 52), he coins another word, "cottagings". "The setwo" (p. 88) was puzzling for an instant, until I saw it meant "these two". The book is singularly free from misprints. We have not referred to the excellent picture which it gives of life in the sixth century; for this it is invaluable. And if the conjectures of Abbot Chapman are confirmed by the discovery of direct historical testimony, his insight will give him a place in the front rank of students of monastic origins.

FRANCIS AUGUSTINE WALSH, O. S. B.

St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C.

Studies in Mediaeval Culture. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS. (New York City: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. 295. $5.00.)

Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History. By the Students of CHARLES H. HASKINS. (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1929. Pp. x, 417.)

Perhaps the first feeling that comes to one upon reading Professor Haskins's book is a vague sense of disappointment. Be it understood at once

that this is due to no shortcoming in the essays *per se*; rather it is due to the unfortunate title that has been chosen. The title may properly lead one to expect a survey of mediaeval civilization at once scholarly and artistic, and there is no question of the ability of Professor Haskins to produce such a work. But this is not what he has done nor what he has attempted; he has isolated and discussed certain unrelated problems in the field. His chapters are interesting and scholarly, but they do not purport to present a picture of mediaeval culture. The second feature that comes to one's attention is the realization that little new material is presented, that is, little that is new to the student of mediaeval history. This does not mean that the material is not original with Dr. Haskins, but that the student has been familiar with this work for some time. The book is largely a series of reprints, in collected form, of those brilliant papers which the author has been publishing for more than a quarter of a century in such journals as the *American Historical Review, Speculum, Isis,* and the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, together with an expansion of material that has appeared in various of his other books. No doubt the preservation in book form of this matter is desirable and useful, and students will be grateful for it.

To one familiar with the work of Professor Haskins it will bring no information to say that his papers throw interesting sidelights on many mediaeval matters. The life of the University of Paris students, "who go about the streets armed, attacking the citizens, breaking into houses, and abusing women" (p. 60) is a case in point. And the complaint of Chancellor Philip that "things are hurried, and little is learned", and that the younger students "spend their time hatching the most abominable schemes and planning their nocturnal raids" (p. 61), is worthy of a harrassed dean in the twentieth century. Very modern, too, is the accusation that some of the students, "who care only for the name of scholar and the income which they receive while attending university, go to class but once or twice a week, choosing by preference the lectures on canon law, which do not begin till nine in the morning and thus leave them plenty of time for sleep." (pp. 64-65). The ability of Dr. Haskins to ferret out such sidelights as these, and such as are contained in several of the letters of mediaeval students (discussed in the first chapter), has long qualified him to write of mediaeval matters with charm and with human appeal.

The author in many cases gives evidence of his rare insight into the psychology and the institutions of mediaeval men. Consider his explanation of the parallel *Volksgeist* and *Zeitgeist* in mediaeval thought on the basis of "static rural conditions and primitive modes of travel" together with a "social structure which required a certain amount of communication between widely separated units of the same type" (p. 92). With similar insight he accounts for the apparently remarkable spread of ideas over

widely intervening territory by suggesting that "kings and their courts are influenced by their wives and their wives' relatives and followers" (p. 98). In like manner he presents a good case for the transmission of ideas concomitant with that of commercial products, in the spread of the Albigensian heresy "through the industrial population—weaver (*textor*) and heretic were often synonymous in the North—and in the share of the Italian cities in the transmission of Byzantine learning to the West through the Italians resident at Constantinople" (pp. 98-99, p. 199). A discriminating insight is also displayed in the conclusion of the chapter, "Latin Literature Under Frederick II", when he notes a parallel between the striking "absence of works of edification or ecclesiastical history" and the emperor's secularization of the state (p. 147).

As one would expect of an eminent teacher, Professor Haskins suggests numerous fields for further investigation on the part of students. Among these there is his hint as to the "intellectual implications" of the growth of capitals and metropolitan markets (like Paris and London) in the latter part of the middle ages (p. 99); he feels that here is a profitable lead in the study of the diffusion of ideas. The general problem of diffusion can be further explored, he believes, through a greater knowledge of mediaeval roads "and their relation to centres of learning and literature", through a wider study of the catalogues of mediaeval libraries, the rate of movement along lines of communication, the facilities for the exchange of letters, and many other factors (pp. 100-101). Elsewhere he points out the need for synthetic study of "those aspects of the Middle Ages which need the united forces of historians, philologists, archaeologists, students of art, literature, and philosophy" (p. 105). Notable also is his insistence upon a painstaking building up of the "story of Byzantine influence" by "the slow accumulation of individual detail" (p. 160). He believes such an accumulation essential to a full understanding of Western culture in mediaeval times.

It was a very gracious act of Mr. Haskins to conclude his book with a chapter on two American mediaevalists. The two whom he has chosen so to honor are Henry Charles Lea and Charles Gross. The chapter is in two parts, each a reprint of a short paper that appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society shortly after the death of the scholar in question. Professor Haskins is deferential in his treatment of each, and highly appreciative of their scholarly achievements. Yet his own critical acumen will not allow him to leave unquestioned certain of Dr. Lea's methods and conclusions, especially those which at the time of their appearance caused adverse comment among certain distinguished Catholic scholars (pp. 258, 261).

The other volume under review is of the type that is assuredly a source of immense gratification to a gifted teacher. It is a collection of eighteen

essays by as many present and former students of Professor Haskins, presented to him on the occasion of his completing forty years of teaching. In July of last year I commented in this REVIEW on the essays presented to Professor Dana C. Munro by his former students, and said that the compilation of such a volume is always an inspiring undertaking. There can be no finer tribute to a great teacher than to give him such tangible evidence that his students, scattered far and wide, are doing him the honor of following in a commendable way the difficult course which he has set them.

There are in this collection several essays which show the direct influence of Professor Haskins. Thus the first of the essays, "Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues and Contents", by Professor James Stuart Beddie, is a phase of one of the specific investigations which Professor Haskins has especially recommended (see above). A similar case in point is the paper "Greek Visitors to England in 1455-1456" (pp. 81 ff.), by Professor Howard L. Gray. It is a chapter in the creation of the story of Byzantine influence through "the slow accumulation of individual detail". Again Professor Haskins' well known interest in the civilization of the twelfth century is reflected in Professor Jean Birdsall's paper, "The English Manors of La Trinité at Caen" (pp. 25 ff.). Examples of such influence could be multiplied.

Certain of the scholars contributing to this book have offered valuable revisions of former points of view. Thus it has been generally thought that the 1353 Statute of Praemunire was the first in a long series of anti-papal legislation. Professor Edward B. Graves shows this view to be erroneous and makes out a good case to prove that the statute was far less significant politically than it was legally and administratively. ("The Legal Significance of the Statute of Praemunire of 1353", pp. 57-80). Again, we have been accustomed to thinking that the Syrian Franks borrowed their ecclesiastical and feudal institutions from western Europe, but very little else. Mr. John L. Lamonte, however, gives evidence to show that the "organization of the Syrian communes followed in general the model of those in western Europe". The borrowing apparently extended even to details. "The admission of nobles to membership in the commune in Syria is indicative of the Italian practice of requiring the nobles to join the commune if they wished to enjoy the commercial privileges held by the city. There was a mayor, with syndics, consuls, and captains. The bell tower, so familiar an attribute of the western commune, was found in the East also" (p. 129).

There are also points of view advanced to which exception must honestly be taken. The present reviewer, for example, is not convinced by the evidence that the educational legislation of Pope Alexander III had so little to do with the development of the universities as Mr. Gaines Post would

have it appear. ("Alexander III, the 'Licentia Docendi', and the Rise of the Universities", pp. 255-278). Nor can I accept the evident opinion of Professor Josiah C. Russel that the thirteenth century Church was so politically minded as to be willing to canonize or beatify most of the prominent Englishmen who rebelled against the king. ("The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England", pp. 279-290.)

In conclusion be it said that the papers contained in this volume are of such degree of scholarship as to do credit to the master whom they are designed to honor. Unlike those in the book by Professor Haskins they are all new and specifically written *ad hoc*. An impressive bibliography of Professor Haskins is the work of Mr. George W. Robinson.

HEWITT B. VINNEDGE.

Mayville, N. D.

Mediaeval Culture. By KARL VOSSLER. Translated by William Cranston Lawton. Two volumes. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1929. Pp. 378, 412.)

Karl Vossler has written what is in several ways a remarkable work, remarkable at once in its curious defects and its surprising merits. The opening chapters are somewhat muddled, jejune and naïve; and the concluding chapters, in which we are provided with a commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, are far from adequate: both sections apparently being introduced in order to swell the undertaking into two volumes. Yet even these redundancies may be accepted with resignation because of another redundancy which, though introduced also quite obviously in order to justify the double-decker, we accept with gratitude. This is an excellent bibliography of forty closely printed pages prepared not by the author but by Mr. J. E. Spingarn.

The commentary upon the *Divina Commedia* is hardly sufficient. And it becomes more and more attenuated during its progression. Eighty pages are devoted to the *Inferno*; forty-five to the *Purgatorio*; thirty-five to the *Paradiso*. Every good Dantist will regard this fact as exceedingly damaging to Vossler's critical credit. Yet with all this, there is, no doubt, a real advantage in having a commentary which is brief enough to take in Dante's great poem simply and sweepingly.

Far more disappointing do I find the first ninety pages of the first volume. Being a German, Karl Vossler has to drag in Goethe and "our Faust"; being a sentimental skeptic he has to air his own unbelief. It is done with the usual confused pedantry in such sentences as these which I offer as samples: "Whether, and to what extent, the early popular traditions, legends, and tales were native, or of Babylonian or Egyptian

origin, is not as yet positively determined." So he writes on page twenty-three of the Jewish religion; and in the same vein on page thirty-one: "In a quite general way, we may assume it as assured that Irano-Jewish dualism etc." A favorite phrase of his is, "It may be assumed"; and then, having assumed something without definite proof, he goes on to prove something else on the basis of his assumption. On page seventy-two he writes: "Nowhere has Dante's moral austerity permitted itself to be enfeebled by the poetic pantheism of Franciscan mysticism. It even seems as if our poet at a certain moment wished to utter a reproach, veiled with masterly skill, against the poet." This is learned stupidity, and not very learned at that. But it is surpassed by the incredible comment on Beatrice, "Of whom, even today, despite all symbolic transfiguration, scholars whisper that she was Dante's early love".

Yet irritating as the Teutonic intellect can be, it does, after all, perform a useful function in the world. Most amazingly Karl Vossler rises a hundred times to the saying of acute, profound, penetrating, and eloquent things, of which the following may be taken as a sample:

> This divine origin gives Hell its hopeless eternity and unconquerable power. He who thus harbours torture within himself despairs. But he who has the power to draw it forth from his bosom and to gaze on its interminable duration, such a man has conquered it: and nothing of life's sorrow lingers still within him except the lofty consciousness of dread eternity. An awesome shrinking from an eternity of pain is the keynote of the *Inferno*.
>
> That is why its scenery is conceived as hostile to life, cruel, diabolical, and always on the offensive against mankind: an agony made visible and enobled by its eternal duration; a fixed threat against the ego. Therefore the main action of the *Inferno* is a stirring, an appealing and attentive contemplation and inward experience of that scenery.

The chief merit of these volumes—a merit so great as to have made them, except for redundancy, fatuity and pedantry, a masterpiece of interpretative scholarship—is the analysis and clear presentation of all the various factors that united to constitute the culture of the Middle Ages of which Dante stands as the most sublime exponent. All the sources, philosophical, ethical, political, and literary are examined, not always, perhaps, with exact understanding but always with luminous order. This makes it, despite its occasional insufficiency and ineptitude, upon the whole the best of introductions to the study of Dante.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

Georgetown University.

Filosofia Medieval. By MARTIN GRABMANN. Traducción de Salvador Minguijón, Professor de la Universidad de Zaragoza. (Editorial Labor, S. A.: Barcelona-Buenos Aires. 1928. Pp. 159.)

The above work in Spanish is one of a collection of small volumes, the complete series of which will deal with the various arts and sciences, such as philosophy, geography, chemistry, literature, natural sciences, etc.

An effort has been made to select the works of authors of recognized authority in their respective fields and whose style, while truly scientific, is, at the same time, simple and uninvolved, and which will render the subject intelligible even to those less highly educated. The name of Martin Grabmann, the original author of the volume under consideration, is sufficient indication that the choice in regard to medieval philosophy was well directed.

In such a small volume it is impossible to give a comprehensive outline of the history of philosophy in the Middle Ages, and so, the various phases of development have been indicated briefly and succinctly. An introductory chapter furnishes an idea of the philosophy of the Fathers of the early Church. Important notice is paid to the teachings of St. Augustine, and there is an enumeration of the chief exponents of Arabian and Jewish philosophical thought.

The treatment of scholastic philosophy is arranged under four chapters. The first deals with the general characteristics of Scholastic philosophy: its literature, method, technique, its essence and its sources. The second chapter treats of what the author calls early Scholasticism, and covers the period between the Patristic Age and the golden years of Scholasticism, the thirteenth century. The third chapter has reference to St. Thomas Aquinas, the chief exponent of thirteenth century Scholasticism. In it are considered his life, his divisions of philosophy, his followers and his antagonists. The fourth, and final, chapter is concerned with the Scholastic philosophy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with more lengthy discussion of Duns Scotus and William of Occam.

The book contains a very small bibliography, an alphabetical index and some fine prints and photostats which are pertinent to the subject matter of the volume. The style of the translator is not involved, and while the book lacks the comprehensiveness necessary for a text book, it would be useful as an outline of the rise and development of medieval Scholasticism.

L. N.

Irish Medieval Monasteries on the Continent. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By JOSEPH P. FUHRMANN. (Washington, D. C. 1927. Pp. xiii, 121.)

This is an historical account of the monasteries, designed to be of Irish *personnel*, that were founded on the continent of Europe between the sixth and the sixteenth century. Little that is new either of fact or of interpretation is offered, but we are given an excellent summary presentation of the information available at the time the work was written. Since then, it may be noted, some important new studies have appeared in this field. Particularly helpful is the author's treatment of such little known subjects as the monasteries of Honau and Murbach, the *peregrini* monks, St. Pirmin, the *hospitalia Scottorum*. He knows the literature well, especially that in German, and refers to it minutely. Much of this literature is inaccessible to the average student. For example, important *diplomata* relating to the foundation and early history of the several *Schottenklöster* in Germany, and to the organization of their congregation, have long been in print, but are buried in old and rare publications. If Dr. Fuhrmann were to give us a new edition, or even a reprinting, of these documents he would double the large debt that is already due to him from all interested in Irish history.

JAMES F. KENNEY, Ph. D.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Histoire de la Fondation et de l'Évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe Siècle. By P. GRATIEN, O. M. Cap. (Paris: Librarie Saint-François; Gembloux, Belgique, Duculot, Éditeur. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 669.)

The Capuchin jubliee of 1928, commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the establishment of that Order as a distinct branch of the Friars Minor, has elicited some valuable publications relative to the foundation and development of the Franciscan family. Undoubtedly, one of the most important and most erudite works on the subject to appear in any language is the work from the pen of Père Gratien, Capuchin of the Paris province. However, Père Gratien treats more specifically of the foundation and development of the Friars Minor in general than of the Capuchin Order. He first shows how St. Francis laid the plan of his Order between the years 1209 and 1219 and describes the primitive life, organization and progressive changes of the Franciscan Institute. In the

beginning Francis and his few disciples banded together chiefly for work, prayer, and penance which consisted mainly in the observance of most rigorous poverty. In his rule the sainted founder at first makes no provisions for dwellings or livelihood, but his friars are to practise the corporal and spiritual works of mercy and, with the exception of coin or money, might receive the voluntary alms of the people.

The rule in its final form was approved by Pope Honorius III in 1223. The distinctive features of this new Franciscan Institute are departures from the older monastic orders and are summed up by the author as follows: (1) The Franciscan ideal is to live the life of Christ in its contemplative and active aspects. The Franciscan rule aims not solely at personal perfection but also at the sanctification of others through an active apostolate hitherto reserved to the diocesan clergy but henceforth to be shared by the friars of Francis. (2) The mode of government is unique among the monastic orders of that day. All the friars are subject to the Minister General who in turn is subject directly to the Pope. Hence arises a new kind of religious obedience not restricted by the *stabilitas loci* of the older orders. (3) The poverty of the Franciscan Order is new. It strips not only the individual but the entire Order of property, rejects fixed revenues and even the use of money, admitting no other means of subsistence than work, alms, or begging. This singularly rigorous poverty constitutes the *particular* characteristic of the Franciscan Order, which of all the mendicant orders, is chronologically the first type. (4) The general characteristics of the Order are humility, charity, simplicity, endurance, and cheerfulness amidst all the hardships that spring from the observance of such unique poverty. (5) The apostolate of the friars is universal in its character. In the mind of Francis, the zeal of the friars is not to be confined to any particular land or diocese, but it must embrace the whole world, even the infidel. In the aim which the Franciscan Institute proposes, in the principles and activities which it chooses, it occupies a peculiar place among all ecclesiastical and civil organizations. In the former the Friars Minor, foregoing all dignities and prelacies, are the auxiliaries of the diocesan clergy; in the latter, they are the friends of the popular masses, endeavoring to preserve and restore the Gospel life in the world. This they strive to achieve first and foremost by their example and, secondly, by their preaching of peace and penance.

Such are the chief traits of the Friars Minor. In interesting and admirable manner the author continues to trace the development of these fundamental characteristics through the centuries. Other topics treated with similar thoroughness and fairness are: St. Francis' idea of preaching, his attitude towards studies, development of studies in the Order, the schools of the friars at Paris and Oxford, the opposition to the mendicants,

especially at Paris; the rise, growth and final suppression of the Spirituals, and the efforts of St. Bonaventure to maintain unity in the Order. Anyone interested in Franciscanism cannot forego the work of Père Gratien and perhaps it is sufficient recommendation to state that it was crowned by the Académie Française and received the *Prix Thérouanne*.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O. M. Cap.

Capuchin College, Washington, D. C.

The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth (1558-1580). By MYLES V. RONAN. (London: Longmans Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xxxii, 678. $7.00.)

It is, for the historian at least, a regrettable fact that, in certain countries, religion and patriotism are so interwoven that the slightest deviation from religious tradition, the slightest tarnishing of a popular idol, the most insignificant vindication of a traditional enemy are promptly stigmatised as traitorous or at least as somewhat disloyal. Perhaps nowhere has this been better demonstrated than in the writing of histories of religious matters in England and Ireland, and if there has been of recent years some improvement in England, it has hardly been so in Ireland. For this reason Fr. Ronan's volumes on the Reformation in Ireland are thoroughly welcome.

Sources are comparatively scanty and prejudiced not only by religious or national bias but also by the preferences of a purely local or family loyalty. If scholars of the eminence of Moran, to speak merely of Catholics, have been found guilty of suppression and garbling, there can be little wonder that more pedestrian and therefore more popular writers have scattered broadcast distorted history. Fr. Ronan, on the contrary, has told his unpleasant story with an engaging frankness and an unbiassed, though critical, use of the documents at his disposal. He is not swayed by any apparent anti-English feeling. He treats fairly both of the difficulties of Sydney and Sussex and the inconsistencies and inherent lack of cohesion of the Irish chiefs. He appreciates the complications surrounding any action on the part of the Holy See, of Spain, and of France.

The period of which he writes, from the accession of Elizabeth to the death of James Fitzmaurice, is one of which no Englishman can be proud and which must cause much searching of heart to any thoughtful Irishman. If the non-success of Elizabeth must be attributed largely to her parsimony, the maintainance of even a shadow of English authority, upon which was to be built four hundred years of alien domination, can only be explained by a fundamental lack of patriotism on the part of the great men of the kingdom. To this reviewer it seems clear, and there are in-

dications of it in the present work, that a virile sense of nationalist patriotism in Ireland is only to be found later when Protestantism, *actually* in power, could really vigorously attempt to impose itself upon a Catholic people. With very few exceptions, during the period under review, the whole polity of the Irish chiefs was directed to the strengthening and extension of their family dominion or, *e converso*, its withdrawal from feudal subjection to some other clan. Hence the disgraceful chicanery and treachery which distinguished both sides, the bewildering conferring and withdrawal of royal favor or of allegiance to the crown.

Fr. Ronan has vindicated the substantial orthodoxy of the majority of the Irish bishops, without making the sweeping and unjustifiable claims of Cardinal Moran and others, but we fear that he has too greatly minimized the importance of the oath of allegiance.

We cannot discuss here in detail the bewildering fluctuations in polity pursued in five lands during these twenty-two years; it will be enough to say that the author has treated them exhaustively. The difficulty of narrating them concisely and orderly can hardly be overstated, and the author, therefore, cannot be wholly blamed if his work lacks a certain coherent clarity and sharpness of outline. It must be admitted that the volume makes difficult reading, yet it is a splendid piece of capable and courageous historical research that cannot fail to give a new direction to subsequent study of the period. It is to be hoped that Fr. Ronan will not fail to complete the story up to the end of Elizabeth's reign in a subsequent volume.

ANSELM M. TOWNSEND, O. P.

Washington, D. C.

Die Schweizerische Kapuzinerprovinz. Edited by Dr. P. MAGNUS KÜNZLE, O. M. Cap. (Einsiedeln: Benziger. 1928. Pp. 422.)

This volume on the Capuchins in Switzerland, containing articles by various members of the Swiss province, is a record of religious life and activity of which any religious community might be proud. The Capuchins came to Switzerland just at the time when the ravages of the Protestant Reformation were most severely felt. All the cantons save Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden, Luzern, and Zug had gone over to the Protestant camp. It was then that the Council of Trent met to begin the true reformation. In answer to Trent two great spiritual armies appeared in the Jesuits and the Capuchins. The Jesuits devoted themselves chiefly to the education of youth, while the Capuchins took over the pastoral care of the lower classes. The present book tells how the Capuchins came to Switzerland and what they achieved in the well nigh four hundred years of their stay.

Recommended by St. Charles Borromeo, Archibishop of Milan, as most capable to stem the tide of Protestantism in Switzerland, five Capuchins

under the leadership of Father Francis of Bormio arrived in that country on July 1, 1581. The authorities received them with joy and assigned to them a little frame house and chapel in Altdorf. The friars took possession of their "portiuncula" on the eve of the feast of the Visitation of our Blessed Lady. At midnight their little bell tolled the first time for Matins and Lauds and from that historic night down to the present the daily chanting of the Office has never been interrupted. The friars became popular at once. The simplicity of their life, their kindness to the children of the village, their unctuous sermons, and their charity in the confessional won them to the hearts of all, so that soon they had no need of begging, for the people brought their alms unsolicited.

The friary at Altdorf was the first of the Capuchins beyond the Alps, and once established, became the fruitful source of many others. From 1581-1589 the Swiss friars had so multiplied that they could now separate from the Milanese and form an independent province. By 1630, forty-nine years after its foundation, the Swiss province numbered thirty-two monasteries besides six others that were building. The province covered an extensive territory and found its representatives in or near all the principal cities. In 1668, in the chapter at Wil, the vast province consisting of sixty houses and seven hundred and thirty-two friars, was divided, thirty-three friaries with four hundred and twenty-seven friars forming the Swiss province, and twenty-seven friaries and three hundred and five friars constituting the Upper Rhine or Swabian province. A second division from the parent stem was again necessary in 1729 when the province of Alsace was created. Despite various persecutions, the Swiss province has continued a healthy growth so that at present it is the second largest in the world and numbers five hundred and sixty-three members, two hundred and seventy-eight of whom are priests.

Besides the historic development, the book gives a good account of the varied activities of the Swiss Capuchins, especially of their work in schools, hospitals and charitable institutions. The curriculum in the clericate, schools and colleges which they conduct reveals that studies are on a high plane. The fathers, too, are in constant demand for preaching missions and retreats and for assisting the diocesan clergy. A review of their literary achievements shows excellent works in history, philosophy, theology, hagiography, polemics, and belles-lettres. Their outstanding writer at present is Dr. Hilarin Felder, author of *Die Idealen des Heiligen Franciscus* and *Christus*, both of which are second to none of their type and are translated into other languages. In all truth it may be said that the Swiss province of Capuchins is one of the most progressive, if not, indeed, the most progressive of the whole order.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O. M. Cap.

Capuchin College, Washington, D. C.

Aus dem Leben und Wirken des Kapuziner-Ordens. Edited by Dr. CHRYSOSTOM SCHULTE, O. M. Cap. (Munich: Eder. 1928. Pp. 190.)

In this *Festschrift*, edited under the auspices of the German-speaking Capuchins, we have a delightful commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Capuchins. The articles, from different pens, bespeak some of the best talent in the respective provinces. It is not a history of the Order that is here presented but a series of pen pictures portraying the origin and growth, the efforts and achievements, the joys and sorrows of the Order in different lands. It has been well said that no tree, however sturdy, has the distinction to bloom and bear fruit continually, and that even the best tree does not bear equally well every year. Similarly, the critical eye will discern many an imperfection in this four hundred year old tree of St. Francis; but at the same time this *Festschrift* will reveal much good fruit both for Church and State for which the tree is responsible.

Of general interest will be the following: "The Origin of the Capuchin Order", "The Capuchins and the People" and "Father Martin Cochem", three articles by Dr. Chrysostom Schulte; "The Capuchin Order Today", by Dr. Fredegand Callaey, general archivist of the Order; "Among the Heathen", by Fr. Callistus; "Plan of a Capuchin Friary", by Fr. Gaudence Koch; "The Capuchins in America", by Fr. John Lenhart; "The Capuchin Friary—the Expression of the Franciscan Ideal", and "A Day in a Capuchin Friary", by Fr. Justinian; "The Mendicant", by Dr. Willibald Jordan; "The Capuchin and Pastoral Work", Fr. Richard M. Liebl; "Capuchin Influence on Architecture", by Brother Rudolph; "The Imperial Crypt in the Capuchin Friary at Vienna", by Fr. Hubert; "The Seraphic Work of Charity", by Fr. Cyprian; "The Latest Blessed of the Capuchin Order", "The Saints, the Blesseds and Venerables of the Capuchin Order", and "The Literary Activity in the Order", by Fr. Kilian Müller.

In the course of these articles many distinctions of the Capuchins are mentioned, chief among which is that of supplying the apostolic preacher to the Vatican. In Advent, Lent, and on certain festivals a Capuchin known as the Papal Preacher is brought in a Vatican carriage to the papal palace to preach to the Holy Father, the assembled cardinals, bishops and members of the papal household. This honor has been held by the Capuchins uninterruptedly from 1743, when it was conferred by Pope Benedict XIV.

Since the establishment of the Order in 1528, it has given to the Church five Saints, eleven Blesseds and twenty-four Venerables. The volume is brimful of information and contains a wealth of illustration.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL. O. M. Cap.

Capuchin College, Washington, D. C.

The Power and Secret of the Jesuits. By RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER. Translated by F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait. (New York: The Viking Press. 1930. $5.00.)

Herr Fülöp-Miller has made it more than a little baffling for a simple historian to deal with his big book about the Jesuits. "The present volume", he writes, "does not profess to be the contribution of a professional historian to the history of the Jesuit Order, so much as a picture of those human passions and dreams, achievements and failures which have decided our modern culture." . . . "In the author's opinion, subjective appraisement, enthusiastic affirmation and denial, awe-struck reverence, indulgent humour and malicious mockery, as the subject at the moment demands are no less valid means of representation than the objectivity of impersonal relation." Subjective . . . indulgent . . . representation . . . objectivity. The paradox, as it stands, is puzzling. It becomes piquant, not to say tantalizing in the form which follows: "Anyone who in our days seeks the truth about Jesuitism will find more valuable help in these partisan, controversial writings than in the guaranteed information of the historians . . . Incomparably deeper insight into the being and meaning of Jesuitism is afforded by all the hate-filled pamphlets, the highly coloured apologies, distorted representations, doctored reports, the slanderings and glorifications of the Order's history."

Fortunately for the Jesuits this curious canon of historical criticism can be easily tested. Many of us have lived in the "allied" and the "enemy" countries before, during, and after the Great War. We have read till we were sick the "hate-filled pamphlets, the highly coloured apologies" of both sides. Some of us know a little of the hack-work in the garrets done by men equally willing to write for a price a slandering or a glorification of either or both parties. Anyone who can find "incomparably deeper insight into the being and meaning" of Teutonism from the war pamphlets of Paris and Berlin is at liberty to seek similar enlightenment about the Jesuits in the slanderings of Illuminism or the glorifications of Crétineau-Joly. How far even so brilliant a journalist as Fülöp-Miller has succeeded by this paradoxical method is all too apparent on every page of this book. Take a very simple example. Every professional historian knows (or can easily find out) that the *Directorium* to the Spiritual Exercises is a tiny booklet of some 20,000 words. By the help of "enthusiastic affirmation" and the authority of I know not what "hate-filled pamphlet", the tiny booklet becomes "the voluminous *Directorium in exercitia spiritualia*". Or take a more serious case of "subjective appraisement". I do not know by what "indulgent humour and malicious mockery" even a journalist is entitled to declare that "the Jesuits, in accordance with the teaching of the founder of their Order,

Ignatius Loyola, taught that even those who did not possess the supernatural illumination, infused into the soul, of which the mystics thought so highly, could achieve perfection by their own efforts and pains." The sentence is bristling with those ascetic and theological technicalities which abound so daringly, and so disastrously, in this book; but if the sentence means anything, it means that Loyola was a Pelagian heretic, and so were his sons. By implication the sentence says that three or four centuries of papal approvals of the Spiritual Exercises have lacked the "incomparably deeper insight" of—I use the expression with reluctance—a theologically muddled and historically mistaken journalist. Herr Fülöp-Miller is simply wrong; and since the sentence is of the nature of a major premiss to the argumentation of half this book, the total impression is as false as can be.

The Secret of the Jesuits turns out to be their Pelagianism. "The Jesuits brought about a complete revolution in Catholic thought" by teaching that "perfection could be attained in an ordinary manner by will and purpose more surely than by contemplative mysticism." Their Power is their Protestantism, their readiness for any compromise. "To a far greater extent than any other religious brotherhood the Society of Jesus has endeavoured ever since its foundation to come to terms with all the expressions of the human mind, with theology as well as with natural science, with philosophy, art, politics, economics, constitutional law and jurisprudence."

Curiously enough when the tale is told there is a kind of death-bed confession. "The purely lay observer has no sort of qualification to enable him to judge whether the Jesuits in accommodating the demands of religion to the level of humanity, and in utilizing worldly means for the attainment of religious ends are fulfilling or contravening the real spirit of the Gospel." The confession is belated; and not to the point. No one will scold the penitent journalist for lacking the inner experiences of a Jesuit's conscience. But the historian has the right to stand in amazement at the travesty of truth. That truth is now easily accessible. There are volumes and volumes of authentic documents in the genuinely "voluminous" *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu.* There are Astrain's exhaustive and relentlessly impartial *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* Duhr's immensely erudite *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge,* Fouqueray's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France,* Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (which is not even mentioned in the twenty-four pages of bibliography), Tacchi-Venturi's *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia,* and a great number of rigorously reliable monographs and biographies. Tested by this testimony the *Power and Secret of the Jesuits* is worse than worthless. The whole part on the "Spirit of Jesuitism" is radically

vitiated by ignorance of elementary theological conceptions. The chapter on Ignatius Loyola abounds in unverifiable declarations and innuendoes. "The Battle Over Free Will" betrays a thorough misunderstanding of the issues involved in the famous *De Auxiliis* controversies. "The Moral Philosophy of the Jesuits" exonerates the Jesuits from "the end justifies the means" charge, but assures us that "not divine norms but the human footrule is the measure" of Jesuit morality. "Behind a Thousand Masks" tells the story of the Jesuit missionaries. ("They scorned no means of influencing the masses, and knew how to exploit the wildest superstitions of the people for their own purposes . . . And with the same ready spirit . . . now accepted martyrdom also in furtherance of the honour of God.") "The End and the Means" shows us the Jesuit political intriguer at work. ("Wherever in Europe the interests of Rome required that the populace should be stirred up against the king or that any measures of a temporal ruler which might be inconvenient to the Church had to be countered by intrigue, propaganda and, if the occasion called for it, open rebellion, the Papal See knew full well that for carrying out such work, there were none more reliable, more resourceful and more courageous than the fathers of the Society of Jesus.") There is of course much about the king's consciences and the royal mistresses who were frowned upon by the Jesuits. ("They were to pay dearly for the stern morality which was so mistaken politically. Not without some truth could Cardinal de Bernis declare some years later that the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France was due mainly to the refusal of Father de Sacy to grant absolution to Madame de Pompadour.")

The work of the Society appears to Fülöp-Miller as "The Struggle with Progress."

> They have been unable to achieve their great aim, that of founding a universal Roman kingdom. . . . The good fathers had in vain made concessions to the thirst of modern humanity for knowledge, allowing it to turn its telescopes to this or that harmless star, and to doubt many things which were unimportant in relation to the Faith; they could not halt the progress of the human mind towards that stage in history which is usually described as the "age of enlightenment." . . . Once more that accommodating spirit which has helped it to such success in the past. . . . Freud decisively refutes the whole system of absolution which the Jesuits had evolved out of the assumption of the irresponsibility for involuntary actions. . . . Just as Fathers Przywara and Jansen endeavoured to make peace with Kant, so now Fathers Pichlmayer and Willwoll are endeavouring to bring about rapprochement with the Freudian theory. . . . Certain of the most modern Jesuit thinkers have already initiated attempts to compromise with Socialism.

Herr Fülöp-Miller writes with brightness and yet without bitterness. He has obviously made an immense effort to be impartial. He has failed only because he attempted the task of a great historian with the mind of a clever journalist.

GERALD GROVELAND WALSH, S. J.

Woodstock College.

A Shorter History of Greater Britian. By ARTHUR LYON CROSS, Ph. D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxvi, 970. $4.00.)

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the work which appeared under this title in 1920, which was in turn an abridgement of Dr. Cross' *History of England and Greater Britain.* Outside of certain points of detail in which there are changes, the present edition differs from its predecessor chiefly in the addition of a great deal of entirely new matter on Europe since the War. There are two new maps, one illustrating the war and one a physical map of England and Wales, and the reference lists have been revised with a view to dropping books no longer useful and including more recent works.

Naturally a Catholic reviewer would not present certain events in English history as does Dr. Cross but none the less are we glad to welcome this new edition of the work for it is an honest attempt by a competent scholar at an objective fair-minded presentation. The use of a book like this along with such a work as Burke's abridgement of Lingard would be highly beneficial to students in the higher classes of Catholic schools.

EDWIN RYAN.

Catholic University of America.

A Short History of the French People. By CHARLES GUIGNEBERT. Translated by F. G. Richmond. Two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 440; xxvi, 738. $15.00.)

In reading any work dealing with the political development of a people it is of great importance to attempt to discover what, if any, are the biasses of the writer and to what extent allowance must be made in order to strike an absolute balance. M. Guignebert, professor in the University of Paris, has written a capable study of the political development of the French people from their earliest days up to the present Third Republic. Certain limitations are however noticeable even in the allocation of space. Granted the supreme importance of the Revolution of 1789, it still seems unreasonable to devote to it almost as much space in Volume II as the whole of Volume I which carries the story up to 1559; in fact the period from 1789 to 1914 occupies more than half of the two volumes. To the author, the thing which matters, that around which everything else hangs, is the establishment of the Republic. He is frankly a Republican of the moderate Left. This, of course. determines his attitude to the Church, but an American should be careful to distinguish a phenomenon not easily recognisable in this country. The author is not a Catholic and he is an anti-clerical, but, and this should be stressed, he is not thereby an anti-Catholic. To all appearances, he is not so designedly. He cares little for

the Church as a religious force, but he does dread its political influence, its alliance with the *ancien régime*, its almost necessary opposition to Republican rule. Hence his comments on the Church, especially in modern times, are worthy of careful study as a presentation of the attitude of mind of intelligent anti-clericals. We might add, in passing, that much unnecessary confusion has developed in this country in controversy with Mr. Charles Marshall due to the failure to recognize that he is an anti-clerical rather than an anti-Catholic.

Certain errors must be noted: (I. 208) Geoffrey and Richard should be inverted in the order of the sons of Henry II of England; (I. 282) Philip VI was nephew not brother of Philippe le Bel; (II. 39) Cardinal Caraffa was not a Dominican. Of course the author holds to the traditional anti-Catholic view of the massacre of Saint Bartholemew though he omits the canard of the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving therefor. Of the fidelity of the translator we cannot judge, but it must be admitted that at times the English is rather wonderful. There seems to be no rule at all in the translation of names, *e. g.*, Phillipe le Bel appears as Philip the Handsome while Stephen, King of England, retains his French name, Etienne de Blois, while there seems to be little gained in retaining French names for Italian and other cities, *e. g.*, Bénévent and Plaisance for Benevento and Piacenza. Also (I. 89) we have Britanny for Britain. In fact, the translation is far inferior to the book and frequently leaves the meaning of the author in doubt. Bibliographies follow each chapter and there is an index.

P. G.

France: A Short History of Its Politics, Literature, and Art from the Earliest Times to the Present. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1929. Pp. x, 418. $3.50.)

"France", so Beaumarchais (or was it not Grotius?) said, "is the most beautiful kingdom after that of Heaven." Land of variety and contrasts in its population as well as in its scenery, it can be well understood only by those who know what elements constitute it, and what conditions presided over their amalgamation. To furnish the reader with this knowledge, the author, no novice in this sort of work, since we are indebted to him for a like introduction to Italy and to Spain, has written this sympathetic and delightful volume. Sympathetic comprehension springs from intimate acquaintance: Henry Dwight Sedgwick is as familiar with all the manifestations of France's life and activity, social, politic, literary, artistic, religious, "from the time when she first became a Latin country up to the end of the Great War", as he is with the events

of her exterior history. Then again, he is so happy in the selection of typical traits and persons; he has such a pleasing and elegant, yet familiar, way of presenting them that reading the four hundred or so pages of his book is truly an intellectual banquet. Just as a morsel thereof, who would not relish, for instance, this pithy pen picture of St. Bernard: "All a mystic and all a practical reformer, he combined passionate beliefs with a power of practical accomplishment, like St. Paul".

Unerring as is almost universally the writer's judgment, there are, however, under his pen a few assertions to which the close student of French history would not subscribe without reservations. A case in point is the appraisal of Louis VII's divorce of Eleanor of Aquitaine: that in its political consequences the step was disastrous, no one gainsays; but why put all the blame on the king, and forget the scandals given by the lady? Another: Is it so sure that "no impartial person now believes in the guilt of the Templars" (p. 73)? No doubt they were too rich, especially in the eyes of the impecunious Philip the Fair; most likely, too, they were not quite so black as they were represented; yet was the Order and were all its members ermine-white? More censurable is the unqualified assertion that "the Pope ordered a medal struck in honor of the deed" (the massacre of St. Bartholemew, p. 163). The fact is undeniable. But the bare statement, as worded, leaves the uncomfortable impression that Gregory XIII had the correct version of the facts, and approved of the deed as actually perpetrated: both these implications are contradicted by documentary evidence. To call François Ravaillac, Henri IV's assassin, a monk (p. 173), is historically incorrect. True, Ravaillac had tasted the Cistercian life as a lay brother; but after six weeks, and that some time before his crime, had been dismissed from the Order as unbalanced. Incidentally, while speaking of Henri IV, the irreverential expression, "le saut périlleux", by which he designated his coming abjuration (p. 167), should be in English "somersault", not "perilous leap". We hope, too, that when our historian styles Talleyrand "the saintly bishop of Autun" (p. 288), he indulges, though no trace of that is discernible in the context, in subtle irony.

With theological matters the author deals briefly, perhaps at the risk of sometimes failing somewhat in accuracy: his description of Jansenism, for instance, is rather jejune and not altogether correct, from that excess of brevity. Things religious are usually treated with due reverence; yet at times one can detect an unpleasant undertone of persiflage about ecclesiastical institutions and persons. This is the fashion, or a fad nowadays; we think, however, that a writer of Henry Dwight Sedgwick's caliber and reputation should be above such fads. To tell the reader, for instance, that, "Queen Matilda built (the Abbaye-aux-Dames of Caen) to appease a Deity, indignant that consanguinity with her husband had not before

marriage received canonical dispensation" (p. 35), is simply intolerable flippancy. Worse still is the quotation—utterly irrelevant, moreover—of Daudet's dialogue of two peasants discussing their respective Madonnas.

Now, gentle reader, expunge from the book these two passages offensive to pious ears (they amount in all to one-third of a page). The rest, that is, the other three hundred and ninety-five pages, you will find amiably instructive, delightfully entertaining, and highly deserving of unstinted praise.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M.

Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

The Church in France, 1789-1848: A Study in Revival. By C. S. PHILLIPS, M. A., D. D. (London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd. 1929. Pp. 315.)

La Sainte France Contemporaine. By SERGE BARRAULT. (Paris: J. de Gigord, Editeur. 1929. Pp. 346.)

A History of the French Labor Movement (1910-1928). By MARJORIE RUTH CLARK, Ph. D. (University of California Press. 1930. Pp. 174.)

The first study by an English divine of "the temporary eclipse of the Catholic Church in France under the Revolution and its subsequent revival", is marked throughout by a spirit of fairness and sympathetic understanding. The complexity of the problem at all stages of its development is clearly set forth by the author and the motives behind the acts made apparent. The keynote of the study is found in the unheeded but prophetic words of the Abbé Maury—*"Prenez garde; il n'est pas bon de faire des martyrs."* Mr. Phillips shows that the persecution which followed had its usual effect. *Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesiae.* "The Church in France" he says, ". . . emerged poor indeed but filled with a moral and religious fervor long unknown . . ." Therefore he denies to Napoleon the vaunted claim of having effected *le relèvement des autels* because "the revival of religion was already an accomplished fact when he seized the reins of power". *Le Génie du Christianisme,* spite of its defects and those of its author, is dealt with at length as a manifestation of the new spirit that in 1801 animated French intellectuals.

According to Mr. Phillips the work of Napoleon was to heal the schism produced in the Church by the Revolution. This he effected by the Concordat of 1801. The subsequent efforts of the Emperor to undo his work and "bind more closely than ever the yoke of the State on the neck of the Church" are told with merciless exactitude. Among those who withstood the imperial will, Mr. Phillips notes "the saintly Emery" Superior of the

Sulpicians, one of the few men whom Napoleon respected as well as feared.

Reaction, accompanied with the clash of varying and extreme views after the return of the Bourbons and which was followed by the temporary triumph of the protagonists of the *ancien régime,* is shown by the author to have ended in the downfall of the Legitimist Monarchy. Far from being a calamity for the cause of religion however, Mr. Phillips insists that

> . . . it set the Church free . . . to do its work in the strength of its own inner resources . . . (so that there followed for the Church in France) one of the most brilliant periods of its history.

With penetrating analysis Mr. Phillips portrays the three great prophets of the counter-revolution: de Maistre, de Bonald, Lamennais and the latter's associates, Lacordaire and Montalembert. These men, by the sincerity and the brilliance of mind they brought to the defense of the Church, restored its lost prestige. They knew how to combine Catholicism with ideas of public liberty and by their championship of Ultramontanism dealt a staggering blow to Gallicanism which led to the subsequent triumph of the Vatican Council. Moreover they were the instruments of the final triumph of the *école libre* for Catholics.

The depth of contemporary religious feeling is further attested according to the author by: the return of the Religious Orders; the growth of Orders for Women; by the number of ordinations, "that barometer of the Church's progress"; by "the beautiful examples of the priestly character" as typified in the Curé d'Ars; by the numerous apparitions and the growth of the cult of *Marie immaculée,* etc., etc.

"Without passing judgment upon the facts," the author "registers them as the accompaniment of a genuine religious revival . . . with a progressive exaltation of the claims of the Holy See".

The second volume treats of the inner and mystic life of the Church in France during the 19th century. The author, a Frenchman, claims that only that part of a nation which possesses supernatural life and which moves in the realm of grace can be called representative. For him *la France* not only is *la fille ainée de l'Eglise* but also the first of Catholic nations. She owes this distinction to her glorious protectors, *la Vièrge et Saint Michel,* both declared enemies of the Serpent. In them is explained the history of France through their protection of the family, for the author insists that it is first of all, holy fathers and mothers of whom the Church has need. Moreover he says that if France bears also the name of *la nation irréligieuse* it is because being *le peuple de Dieu* the Demon incessantly pursues her.

While the author admits that the saints of all the world form only one spiritual family yet *la patrie,* the mother of citizens, gives them their temperaments, their character, education, traditions. Thus "France recog-

nizes with glory as her authentic children a Louis IX, a Jeanne d'Arc, a Marguerite-Marie, a Curé d'Ars, a Thérèse de Lisieux".

Among the two hundred or more sons and daughters of France born in the 19th century who died in the odor of sanctity, our *hagiographe laïque* has selected nine figures for the first volume of a work intended to show forth France as the *pays Catholique par excellence*. The facts related have all been culled from exact biographies. The author's part, as he says, has been to create *une oeuvre d'art*. The interpretation therefore is his.

The portraits are: *La Mère Placide Viel* (1815-1877), daughter of humble Breton peasants; as *Mère Supérieure des Soeurs de la Miséricorde* she was responsible for the creation of some hundred or more foundations and received more than a thousand members into the Order. *Monseigneur Ségur* (1820-1881) soul of light but blind; President of the first *Congrès Eucharistique*, largely his creation; founder of *l'union des Oeuvres Catholiques ouvrières*, etc.; *Père Joseph Tissot* (1840-1894), "living imitation of Jesus Christ"; *Marie-Marthe Chambon* (1844-1907), recipient of the revelation of the Sacred Wounds; *Monseigneur Henri Verjus* (1860-1892), "The angel of New Guinea"; "Martyr of penance" at thirty-two; *Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus* (1873-1897), "The little Flower"; and that other mystic of Carmel, *Soeur Elisabeth of the Trinity* (1880-1896); *Ernest Psichari*, (1883-1914), grandson of Renan, dying at the Dominican threshold when only thirty-two; finally, *Anne de Guiné* (1911-1922), soul fired with devotion to "the Little Flower" whom she followed to heaven, a child of eleven years.

Miss Clark in her study, lays no claim to have treated French syndicalism from the doctrinal point of view but simply to have set forth the events of its recent history. She shows clearly however, the changed tendency that has taken place, largely, she says, through the passionate nationalism engendered by the war.

In brief she gives the development of the movement from 1864, date of the legal recognition of the right to strike, down to 1914. The chapters which follow present in detail the more recent happenings. The defeat of the general strike of 1920, had far-reaching results and is held by her to be responsible for the present situation in which, although an anarchistic minority still exists, the idea of the general strike, of sabotage, is repudiated while class war has been replaced by the concept of "participation." The present therefore seems to the author a period of transition with the future undetermined.

ELIZABETH S. KITE.

Washington, D. C.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Vols. I, II. Edited by HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL. [Carnegie Institution of Washington: Publication No. 374; Papers of the Department of Historical Research.] (Washington: the Institution. 1926, 1929. Pp. xiv, 508; x, 661.)

Once again the Carnegie Institution of Washington has placed the historians of the country heavily in its debt. Whether it be the sociologist, the legal historian, the student of theology or of ethics, or the historian of economics who reads these two substantial volumes he will be the richer for his pains. Mrs. Catterall has done heavy spade-work in a fallow field but the fertility of the soil has justified the prodigious labor. The information gathered together in these two volumes is fundamental in American history.

After a learned preface by the general editor of the series, Dr. Jameson, the material naturally appears in chronological order. England, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky cases, comprise the first volume, with North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee in the second. Each jurisdiction has its own introduction by the editor of the volumes. Hundreds of cases, abstracted to show pertinent references to the institution of slavery, are arranged in their proper places. Wills, deeds of sale, contracts, and similar subjects are fully represented. The effect of baptism, manumission, marriage, mixed blood, and degrees of servitude on slaves and their owners are strikingly brought out in these human records. In a significant paragraph of her introduction to the Virginia cases Mrs. Catterall points out that the first slaves in Virginia were not negroes but Indians. She had previously shown that the idea of slavery was known in the Virginia laws in 1618 although the first negroes did not come to the state until 1619. These latter having come from Spanish possessions had all been baptized and therefore, under the early loyalty to Christian teaching, could not be slaves in the sense that heathen Indians were. It was not until later (1667) that the laws of Virginia declared baptism of itself insufficient to free a slave (p. 57). Another important date established is that "the earliest will (we know of) emancipating negroes is dated 1645" (p. 58). In similar fashion fact after fact from 1569 until after 1866 is established by documents.

Realism and humanism each are undercurrent through the legalistic forms of the records. The "human interest" so much sought for everywhere leaps out here from every page. The vitality, personality, individuality, of characters long dead is the reward of him who overlooks formalistic style and reads original documents for their own sake. Mrs. Catterall's work is well done. The format of the book is pleasing. The

publication as a whole makes accessible much that has not been so. It is a contribution to American scholarship of great value.

Perhaps no better argument than this book can be given for the study of legal documents as evidences of historic institutions. Legal history in England has been so well done for so long that its findings are taken for granted in history generally. America has had no Maine nor Maitland, no Vinogradoff nor Holdsworth, nor can she have until much careful work on the part of bibliographers has first been done. The important thing for Americans to realize in the development of her history is that legislative (apart from constitutional law and literature) decisions by judicial and executive officers, recorded wills, deeds, and vital registers, corporation charters, and licences of various kinds, as important evidence of her institutions, are but little used. The study of these public records will repay the student of many particular branches of American history as fully as it has done in these volumes on slavery.

MIRIAM T. ROONEY.

Washington, D. C.

Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America. By CECIL JANE. With a Preface by Salvador De Madariaga. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. vii, 177.)

This book is an endeavor to establish the underlying causes of the unsettled political conditions of Latin America. According to the author, the War of Independence was due not to French ideas of democracy but to love of liberty inherent in the Spanish people. Spanish sovereigns had allowed a maximum of individual and local independence under the elastic forms of colonial government until the reign of Charles III when that king introduced political and economic reforms which curtailed individual freedom, and were not adapted to the temperament of the people. The war was not a revolt against the mother country nor an effort to found republics, rather it resulted from a desire to recover government that would respect the traditions of their race. Both sides in the conflict had the same object, they disagreed only in method, one side believing that the break with Spain was not necessary, the other that it was. Had Ferdinand VII understood perfectly the Spanish character, he could have saved his colonial possessions.

Along with this love of liberty there is in those of Spanish descent a love of efficiency, a "search for perfection" which they will never abandon. They admire a strong government, and in republican Latin America any strong government has hitherto been despotism. The nations vacillate between revolution and despotism driven now by their love of freedom,

now by their love of efficient government. The hope of a solution to this shuttle existence, the author sees in immigration and in the building of ways of communication. Already in Argentine and Chile the fierce spirit of local autonomy has been broken by these means, and an interest in the development of the country as a whole has followed. Elsewhere also an ordered search for a solution has replaced the restless striving of revolution and counter-revolution. "To those who have eyes to see there is today presented the spectacle of a race striving towards realization of its ideals" . . . in accordance with its own traditions and faith.

It would be easy to praise this book if it made no claim to being more than a popular essay. It is pleasant to read, and in part it is a careful and accurate analysis of past and present conditions. However, it is impossible to agree with the author in many places or to enjoy pages padded with repetitions, and with reasoning as naïvely ingenious as an undergraduate's debate. It is the first book published under the auspices of the chair of Spanish Studies at Oxford, and from such a source we have the right to expect not a superficial but a scholarly treatment of whatever subject the chair proposes to study.

ELIZABETH W. LOUGHRAN.

Boston, Mass.

De Soto and the Conquistadores. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1930. Pp. 297. $3.50.)

In this volume Theodore Maynard describes the stirring adventures of De Soto from his arrival at the age of nineteen in Darien, to his burial in the Mississippi River after a life of heroic courage and incredible hardship spent in Nicaragua and Peru and in that part of the Spanish territory of Florida extending from our present state of the same name north to the Carolinas and west to Texas. The author has written his book for the general reader, not for the student of history, for the latter has easy access to the documents from which the story is drawn, but even the historian well acquainted with the details of the narrative will feel that Mr. Maynard has enriched the appreciation of the story by a just and more sympathetic portrait of De Soto than has appeared before in English. A previous study of De Soto was published in 1903, but its author, R. B. Cunninghame Graham, was unable to understand the influence that religious motives had upon the soul and actions of the explorer, and, scoffing mildly but persistently at all religious impulses and utterances, he missed completely the man he hoped to portray. Moreover, he chose to follow the unreliable, romantic history of Florida of Garcilaso de la Vega, while Mr. Maynard has based the part of his book dealing with Florida upon the

journals of two members of the expedition, the Portuguese Gentleman of Elvas, and De Soto's secretary, Rodrigo Ranjel, and upon documents recently made available by the Library of Congress. Incident by incident, the superiority of Mr. Maynard's judgment and historical sense is evident. In his description of the Indians, also, whether of the Incas of Peru, or of the Choctaws or Seminoles of Florida, he inspires confidence. He shows us good Indians and bad ones, loyalty and treachery, decent living and crime, in short, a sane and sensible view instead of the current pagan sentimentality over Indian culture. Whatever of art and science the Incas and the other semi-civilized Indian tribes possessed, they had nothing remotely approaching that culture, developed by centuries of education and art, and vitalized by the strength of the truth and beauty of the Catholic faith, which the Spaniards gave as their most precious gift to the red-skinned inhabitants of the new world. This fact Mr. Maynard makes clear throughout his book. *De Soto and the Conquistadores* is destined to be widely read because of the charm of its style and the appeal of its interest, and is assured of prompt circulation by the approval of the Catholic Book Club. It will doubtless give many readers their first understanding of the nobility and courage of these early Catholic explorers. It is a notable addition to the ever-growing library of popular biographies.

ELIZABETH E. LOUGHRAN.

Boston, Mass.

A History of Modern Culture. Vol. I: *The Great Renewal, 1543-1687.* By PRESERVED SMITH. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1929. Pp. xi, 672. $5.00.)

This book, a continuation of Dr. Smith's *The Age of the Reformation* and written from the same point of view, is announced by the publishers as its author's *magnum opus*. That much it probably is. And we may fully grant that it is a useful summary of all the various activities of its period, that it is clearly arranged and competently written, without being obliged to grant further that it is one of the outstanding historical works of our time.

The author undoubtedly has great learning; but it may be questioned whether he has enough learning for his task—though it is no more than fair to add that nobody could be expert in all the subjects which he discusses. It should also be admitted that consummate scholarship in each of these departments (though we must postulate it for that ideal history which it was obviously his intention to write, and which his own ideal has made us demand from him) would in practice militate against the production of so good a book as the one he has given us. An erudition too vast would

have swamped him. As it is he has enough to give weight to his book, indeed so much as to make the reader admire the dexterity that has been able to arrange so admirably the mass of material he has handled.

From this aspect, therefore, only praise can be given to Dr. Smith. Dividing his book up into sections labelled "The Sciences", "The Humanities", "Social Control", and "The Spirit of the Times", he has reduced to order the thousand facts and circumstances he was obliged to deal with. But a good deal has been sacrificed in order to reach symmetry; and the more important has often been drastically curtailed so as not to dwarf by comparison the less important, which admittedly should also have been dealt with. The discussion accordingly is often curt. In achieving symmetry, therefore, he has done so by imposing an artificial balance. Perhaps, after all, there was no other method possible in the face of what would be impossibilities except to genius of the very highest order.

Dr. Smith is obviously, one might almost say painfully, anxious to be moderate and just. But one might also use the same adverbs again and say that Dr. Smith obviously and painfully suffers from the effects of the Puritan tradition which he admires but whose dogmatic basis he refuses to stand upon. He has made for himself, not being the first to do so, a compromise. He rejects the theological concepts of Calvinism as fully as he rejects the theological concepts of Catholicism; nevertheless he approves of the incidental political consequences of Calvinism which, in his view, led to enlightenment whatever their inherent absurdities may have been. His thesis is casually formulated on page 417, though it informs all his book; and it is this: "Not faith but doubt has liberated and humanized the modern world".

It is one, of course, flatly at variance with all that Catholics hold, and equally at variance with all that every Protestant Christian holds. But Dr. Smith maintains it with plausible urbanity. He does not advance it with apostolic fervor; he introduces no slashing logic in its defense; but he quietly insinuates it into every chapter, embedded in a prose which is always graceful but is never passionately compelling.

This is not to say that Dr. Smith cannot be eloquent. On the contrary he is eloquent upon every subject he touches from mathematics to witchcraft, indeed upon witchcraft he is a little too eloquent, or at least unnecessarily expansive. But that may be due to the fact that with the barb of Salem rankling in his gizzard he feels obliged to show that Catholic countries also indulged in a little witch-hunting.

Surprisingly, coming from a professor of history, some of his best writing occurs in his chapter on art. How good despite its incompleteness is this for instance:

To those who can read them the painting and architecture of the baroque school in the South and of the Dutch realists in the North tell in every line the form and pressure of the time that gives them birth. Europe was divided artistically along the same frontiers by which it was divided racially and religiously. The secular art of the South was aristocratic, its religious art Catholic; the subject matter of this art was the heroic and ideal, its inspiration in the past, and its style baroque. The secular art of Holland was democratic; its religious art Protestant; the subject matter of this art was the every-day and commonplace, its inspiration in the present, and its treatment realistic.

Or take the phrases describing the Carthusian monastery at Grenada, "every inch of which was carved with elaborate filigree or crowded with a giddy profusion of figures"; or the judgment on Velasquez, "He, alone of the major artists, painted not what he felt, still less what he imagined, but only what he saw, and he saw only what was there."

I can less strongly recommend phrases such as: "The hostility of reason and faith, loudly advertised by the Reformers and the Council of Trent"; or "Young mothers and women with child, were stretched on the rack, and sent to the stake". Would Dr. Smith be so obliging as to document assertions of this sort? He cannot, of course, document his *dictum* concerning St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, and Luis de León: "In their writings one may read the rhapsodical outpourings of love and rapture, which they interpreted as marks of union with the divine, but which modern psychologists reckon as symptoms of hysterical disorders rooted in starved passions and in frayed nerves." That isn't modern psychology, but a stale opinion derived from unimaginative mid-Victorians.

But I also should become absurd if I allowed myself to become annoyed by Dr. Smith's merely incidental obtuseness. His main thesis is one that deserves respect. And while I reject it, I cannot refute it here: to do that would demand the writing of a book at least twice as voluminous as his own. So I pass it by, and salute the writing of a stimulating and suggestive work.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

Georgetown University.

Mazarin Soutien de l'Etat. By MARCEL BOULENGER. (Paris: Bernard Grasset, Editeur. 1930. Pp. 356. 15 fr.)

Few protagonists of French history have been more discussed than Mazarin. Now as at the time of his political power he remains "a sign which is contradicted": sometimes branded as a consummate Macchiavellian scoundrel, and again extolled to the skies as France's good genius, who saved her almost despite of herself. In the very title given to his book

Marcel Boulenger proclaims in no uncertain terms his decided opinion of the Italian statesman; and the three hundred and fifty odd racy pages of the volume are a plausible, skillful and well-marshalled plea in justification of this title. Truth to tell, eighteen novels and as many volumes of essays seem at first sight a rather inadequate preparation for writing history—this is only Boulenger's third incursion on Clio's preserves. With a significant smile he disclaims the intimidating (so he qualifies it) name of historian. Granted; he brings to light practically no new information and is generally satisfied with using that which was made available by patient archive-diggers; evidence is not lacking, though, for discerning eyes, that he has delved profitably into the sources as yet unpublished. But is the historians' guild such a closed corporation that the entrance fee must of necessity be the unearthing of some hitherto unknown document? Heuristics is only one section of history's domain; criticism is another section; and side by side with both there is ample room for synthesis, which, out of the *disjecta membra* furnished and duly tested by others, works out historical constructions. Such is the task chosen by Marcel Boulenger; and in this his long training as a novelist has served him in good stead. We cannot begrudge him the name which he dares not assume.

The story he presents very much like a drama. In the first part we are introduced to the *dramatis personae*: first, Gold, or, better, its absence, gnawing at the root of every political revolution; next, Fever, which, in nations as well as in individuals, is bound to follow a period of overwork and unnatural restraint. Then in succession we behold the Parliament, whose abnormal development at every turn hindered the functions of the other organs of the government; the "belated", as the writer styles a number of noble men, like Condé, who kept stubbornly two centuries behind the times; the "fair mutineers", as the Duchess of Chevreuse, the Duchess of Longueville and Mme de Montbazon, all fiery in love, and still more fiery in politics. We reach at last, looming above them all, and dominating them all, the enigmatic figure of the "Mustache Cardinal". Admirably gifted by nature, Giulio Mazarini, protégé of the Colonnas, from a captaincy in the pontifical army, had passed, at the age of thirty, to the diplomatic service, and was soon appointed legate to Paris. There he ingratiated himself into the favor of Richelieu and Louis XIII, who, less than ten years later, obtained for him the cardinal's hat. And now, since his protectors' death, prime minister in all but the name, he was the ever loyal confidant, trusty guide, and probably secret husband of the Queen Regent (be it remembered he was not in sacred orders).

How this resourceful diplomat, who would not scruple at a lie, if it were told in his adopted country's interest, and whose capacity for work was truly uncanny, steered the court and France itself through the storms

raised by the "Cabale des Importants", the Parliament and the princes, constitutes the gripping drama recounted in the second, and principal, part of the volume. Twice compelled to flee into exile, yet even then did he not let the helm of the ship of state slip from his firm grasp: by letters and trusty agents he continued from afar to direct Anne of Austria. Mazarin was no saint; his faults Boulenger does not extenuate. The Cardinal's neglect of public finances is notorious, and has been contrasted by his detractors with the immense wealth which he personally accumulated. At any rate it is to his credit that, with all the authority he exercised, and amid so many enemies, no one was ever more prone to pardon and more averse to call into play the executioner or even the gaoler. One may not agree with all the judgments of Mazarin's latest historian—should I not say rather, panegyrist? Yet no one will fail to see the virile lesson which emanates from his life and is pointed out in the last word of the book: "The meek and smiling Cardinal was on the whole a monster of energy. He positively saved the kingdom from anarchy and disintegration; thanks to him Louis XIV was Louis XIV. What was the secret of his greatness? He worked without a moment's respite, and in his inmost heart never yielded to despair. Finally in the words of Guy Patin, *Omnia quae voluit, potuit.*"

The book is dedicated to Benito Mussolini who, like Mazarin, has succeeded in the task of conquering anarchy. Here, however, ends the resemblance. No statesman is more unlike the smiling and subtle Cardinal, than the stern and magniloquent Duce.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M.

Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

Littérature latine chrétienne. By G. BARDY. [Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religeuses, Vol. 23.] (Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1928. Pp. 231.)

This little volume, a companion to the author's *Littérature grecque chrétienne* in the same series, deserves a warm welcome. Through his masterly control of his subject, Professor Bardy has succeeded in giving us a broad and well balanced sketch of the Christian Latin literature from the close of the second century to the death of Isadore of Seville. In spite of the condensation of the material, the narrative has all the life and vigour which we have learned to associate with Bardy's books. As the little volume has appeared in English dress, it should do much to arouse interest and appreciation for the ancient Christian Latin literature in the wider circles of our Catholic reading public, among whom the significance and beauty of this portion of

their inheritance is all too little realized. The *Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religeuses* (it will comprise over 100 volumes when completed) is being published in English translation under the title: *The Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge,* by Sands and Co., London, at 3 s. 6 d. per volume.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

Catholic University of America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The programme for the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association (Boston, Mass., December 28-31, 1930), of which the *Catholic Historical Review* is the official organ, is now completed and papers are to be read by the following scholars: James A. Robertson, Ph.D., research professor in American History at John B. Stetson University, Deland, Florida, executive secretary of the Florida State Historical Society and managing editor of the *Hispanic-American Review*; Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O.S. B., Ph.D., rector and professor of Ecclesiastical History at Belmont Abbey Seminary, Belmont, N. C.; William H. J. Kennedy, Ph.D., principal of Teachers College, Boston, Mass.; Carlos E. Castañeda, M.A., Latin American Librarian of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Rev. Edward J. Hickey, Ph. D., professor of History at Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, Mich.; Edward Kennard Rand, Ph.D., professor of Medieval History, Harvard University; Theodore Maynard, M.A., Litt.D., professor of English Literature at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. John D. Sexton, D.D., professor of Church History at St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.; Georgiana Putnam McEntee, Ph.D., member of the Department of History and Social Sciences of Hunter College, New York; James F. Kenney, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.H.S., director of Historical Research and Publicity in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada; J. D. M. Ford, Ph.D., Smith professor of French and Spanish, and chairman of the Department of Romance Languages at Harvard University; and Louis O'Brien, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

At a preliminary meeting, held in Boston, on June 22, 1930, the officers of the Committee on Local Arrangements were chosen: *Chairman*, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Michael J. Splaine, D.D., Boston, Mass.; *Vice-Chairman*, Rev. Augustine J. Hickey, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.; and *Secretary*, Rev. Dr. Robert Howard Lord, Boston, Mass. All the sessions will be held in the Copley-Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, first vice-president of the Association, has been granted leave of absence from Columbia University for one year.

Monsignor George Lacombe, associate professor of philosophy in the Catholic University of America, with Dr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, represented the United States as delegates to the fifth meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, held at Cambridge, London, and Oxford during the week of April 28. At this meeting progress was reported by most of the com-

missions at work on the various and useful enterprises that have been organized; the most important undertaking of the Committee, the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography,* will shortly be published. If our historians and students would keep themselves informed of the programme and progress of the international projects undertaken by historical scholars, they should first of all subscribe to the *Bulletin,* the Committee's official journal, which may be had at the nominal cost of one dollar a volume. Subscriptions may be sent to the American Council of Learned Societies, Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Among those to whom the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation awarded fellowships in March are Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin, Rosary College, to edit the sermons of Bishop Thomas Brunton, court preacher during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and to study from unpublished records the life of Bishop Brunton; and John T. Lanning, Duke University, to study the universities of the Hispanic colonies in the New World. Among the list of grants given by the American Council of Learned Societies this year, is one to Dr. Lacombe, to be used in securing rotographs of manuscripts of Cardinal Langton and Prepositinus and of Harleian 658; and another to Hugh MacKensie, University of Rochester, for a study of the activities of papal envoys in England before 1327.

Many admirers and friends of the late Cardinal Merry del Val have expressed a desire that a fitting memorial be erected to his memory in the basilica of St. Peter's, Rome, of which he was for years archpriest and where his body now lies close to that of his friend, the saintly Pius X. Those interested are requested to communicate with Msgr. E. S. Burke at the American College, Rome, or with Msgr. N. Canali, assessor of the Holy Office.

Macmillan announcements include the *History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion,* by William C. D. Damphier-Whetham (pp. 514); and *Episcopacy, Ancient and Modern,* edited by Claude Jenkins and K. D. MacKenzie (pp. 411).

A third revised edition of Father Stephen Brown's *Catalogue of Novels and Tales by Catholic Writers* has recently been issued (18 Hawkins Street, Dublin, Ireland).

M. l'Abbé B. Salvetti, curé de Saint-Pons at Nice, has published (Nice, J. Gasparini, 1927, pp. 29) an exceptionally well written *Plan de Monographies paroissiales et communales.* The little brochure contains a sage treatment of the value of popular historical tradition.

The attention of our readers is called to the fact that *Social Science Abstracts,* now in its second volume, has published an *Index* for volume one

(1929). Copies are available at two dollars apiece (611 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City). The *Index* reveals a striking number of abstracts on the history of the Catholic Church, monasticism, missions, the papacy, and Catholic contemporary leaders.

Some recent pamphlets issued by the Catholic Truth Society, London, are: *Hon. H. E. Dormer, King's Royal Rifles,* 1844-1866, by Rev. Bernard W. Kelly; the *Popes from St. Peter to Pius XI,* compiled by a Religious of the Society of the Sacred Heart; and the *Anti-God Front of Bolshevism,* a statement of facts, by Rev. G. J. MacGillivray. Reissues: *The Religion of the Koran,* by Rev. E. Power, S.J.; *Mary Ward, Foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary,* by Mother Mary Joseph.

Recent publications of Bloud et Gay, Paris, include *L'Afrique chrétienne,* by G. Bardy, and *Les Concordats conclus sous le Pontificat de Pius XI.*

The most recent addition to the Leaders of Philosophy Series, edited by Professor J. L. Stocks, is *Thomas Aquinas,* by Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. (London, Ernest Benn).

A recent publication of Bloud et Gay, Paris, is *Les Congregations Romaines,* by Victor Martin, dean of the faculty of Theology, University of Strasbourg.

As was to be expected the fifteenth centenary of St. Augustine has inspired numerous books and articles paying tribute to some phase of this saint's life, character, and thought. Messrs. Sheed and Ward announce *A Monument to Saint Augustine,* a series of essays written by M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., Maurice Blondel, Christopher Dawson, Etienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, C. C. Martindale, S.J., Erich Przywara, S.J., John B. Reeves, O.P., B. Roland-Gosselin, and E. I. Watkins (12 *s.* 6 *d.*). Pustet has published *Augustine of Hippo,* by Katherine F. Mullany, a popular presentation (pp. 196, $1.75).

Three articles on St. Augustine feature the September number of *Thought*: The Modern Renaissance of St. Augustine, by Denis J. Kavanagh; St. Augustine and Occultism, by Herbert Thurston; and St. Augustine and Political Theory, by Moorhouse F. X. Millar.

The *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for January gives accounts of the Excavations at the Monastery of St. Euthymius and of the Churches of Gerasa. Two sacristies of the former have been cleared, the results suggesting that the original small church was built by the saint after whose death the larger church was erected, the floor and foundations of the earlier building being incorporated in the refectory under the new church. The second report tells the progress made in the excavation of the Christian churches of Gerasa, the latest of which was built in 610 A. D.

Among the many rare incunabula in the Library of the Catholic University of America is the *Summa quē Destructorium Vitiorum Appellatur* (gift of Dr. Bouquillon), of Alexander Carpentarius, printed at Cologne (Ludwig von Renchen), August 16, 1485. On the fly-leaf is the legend: "Pertinet istud volumē domui Ste Sophie constantinopolitane". This particular folio is listed in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Bd. I, nos. 866-868, Leipzig, 1925). The *Destructorium* was a popular work during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and ran through six editions before 1516 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, IX, 153). Alexander is believed to have been an Englishman, a fellow of Balliol, and a follower of Wycliffe.

Burns, Oates and Washbourne have adapted from the French the *Life of Blessed John Bosco*, by A. Auffray, S. C.

E. Leroux, Paris, has published *Jeanne d'Arc, ses costumes, son armure* (pp. 400), by Adrien Harmand.

The text of Marc Le Diacre's *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, has been revised and annotated by M. A. Grégoire and M. A. Kugener (Les Belles Lettres).

Jean de Gerson et l'education des dauphins de France, by Antoine Thomas, is a critical study of two of Gerson's writings and of unpublished documents concerning Jean Majoris, tutor of Louis XI (Paris, E. Droz).

De Gigord, Paris, has published *Vie de la Bienheureuse Paule Frassinetti, fondatrice de l'Institution de sainte Dorothée.*

Another chapter to the timely subject of Vatican relations is contributed by Pierre Fervacque who has written *L'Alsace et le Vatican* (E. Fasquelle).

Le Congo belge et les Sciences (Brussels, 1930, pp. 501), recently issued by the Société Scientifique of Brussels, is a contribution to the literature of the Belgian independence centenary and is devoted to the study of the vast African domain which forms the principal colonizing effort of Belgium. The chief divisions of the volume treat the physiography, ethnography, flora, fauna, agricultural methods, industries and transportation of the Belgian Congo.

The Johns Hopkins University has included in its Studies in Historical and Political Science Professor Chao-Kwang Wu's presentation of the *International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China* (294 pp.), a subject which the rise of nationalism in that country has brought to the front.

The contents of Dr. Franz J. Dolger's *Antike und Christentum*, Band II, Heft 2, include "Darstellung einer Totenspende mit Fisch auf einer christlichen Grabverschlussplatte aus der Katakombe Pietro e Marcellino

in Rom", "Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung im ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit", and "Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult: *Bromio signatae mystides* in einer Grabinschrift des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr."

The *Stimmen der Zeit* for August, 1930, contains two very interesting articles. One, by Father Emerich Raitz von Frentz, S. J., tells the story of the process (from 1621 to June 29, 1930) of the Canonization of St. Robert Bellarmine, one of the longest in modern times (*Der Heiligsprechungsprozess des Kardinals Bellarmin*). The second article is by Father John La Farge, S.J., of New York, on the missionary work of the Church among the colored people in this country (*Die Katholische Kirche und die Amerikanischen Neger*).

The articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July are: "Restitutions à Théodoret de Cyr", by J. Lebon; "Les Écrits Théologiques Russes du Moyen Age", by Nicolas Brian-Chaninov; and "Quelques Anciennes Formules Septénaires des Sacrements", by Édouard Dhanis, S.J. There are also notes on "Les Manuscrits de Droit Médiéval de l'Ancienne Abbaye des Dunes à Bruges", by A. De Poorter and J. Brys; and "Les *Méditations* de Fr. Simon Bonhomme, MS. 163 de la Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clervaux", by P. Salmon, O.S.B.

The contents of the July issue of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* are, as usual, varied and scholarly. The main articles are: "Verfasser und Quellen der Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae: Reformschrift des Fr. Gilbert bon Tournay, O.F.M., zum II Konzil von Lyon, 1274", by Aubert Stroick, O.F.M.; and "Venerabiles Martyres Pragenses, O.F.M. trucidati Pragae die 15 Februarii A. D. 1611", by Clemens Minarik, O.F.M.

The contents of *Studies* for June include articles on Domnal O'Sullivan Bear and His Family in Spain, by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Denis J. O'Doherty, rector of the Irish College, Salamanca; on Indentured Servants and Negro Slaves in Barbados, 1642-1650, by Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.; and on Martin Luther and John Knox, by Patrick J. Gannon, S.J.

The historical contributions to the *Dublin Review* for July concern Abbot Butler and the Vatican Council, by Outram Evennett; the English Martyrs, by Egerton Beck; and St. Benedict and the Sixth Century, by Fernand Cabrol.

The first volume of the Rev. Dr. Newton Thompson's translation of Mourret's *Histoire de l'Eglise* has appeared (St. Louis, Herder, 1930, pp. vii, 706, $4.00). Wisely has the translator begun with the fifth volume of the original French edition: *Period of the Renaissance and Reformation*; because, as he says in a foreword, "it is the best one by which to introduce the work to the English-speaking public". The other nine volumes will

follow in due course. Dr. Thompson's skill as a translator has already been proven by his English version of Fillion's *Life of Christ*. A bibliography of the sources cited in volume five of the *History* is appended to the book and there is an index of seventy columns. The work will be reviewed in a later issue.

Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, by L. M. Smith, is a history of this famous monastery written from original sources (London, Philip Allan).

Dover Priory, by Dr. C. R. Haines, with a foreword by Professor G. G. Coulton, is a history of the priory of St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Martin of the New Work (Cambridge University Press).

Messrs. Constable, London, have published *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages*, an illustrated survey by R. L. Palmer.

Vol. XVII, No. 4, of the *Colorado University Studies* is devoted to the English Craft Gilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages, a study by Erwin F. Meyer.

Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century, the title of the *History Association Leaflet*, No. 78 (pp. 16), describes the schism in the ranks of the Church of England which followed the accession of William and Mary.

Dom Hugh Connolly of Downside Abbey has just printed for private circulation *Some Dates and Documents for the Early History of Our House: I. Our Establishment as a Community at Douay.* The method used in collating the facts and documents is a simple one that will appeal to all students of English Benedictine history. New light is thrown in these pages on the Secular-Regular controversy.

The *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1928-1929*, by Pierre-Georges Roy, contains a life by the Abbé Antoine Sattin of Madame D'Youville, foundress of the Sisters of Charity of the General Hospital of Montreal (pp. 385-436); and the letters of Bishop du Plessis. The latter, admirably calendared by the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, and continued from the preceding *Report*, are now complete and should prove of great value to the Church historian of his period.

The Rev. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., has recounted his long life as missionary, explorer, and teacher among the Indians, in the *Memoirs of Father Morice: Fifty Years in Western Canada* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, $2.50).

Writing in the July number of the *Journal of Negro History* on the Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire, Miss Mary W. Williams concludes that the Brazilians treated their African bondsmen better, on the whole, than any other nation. "One of the factors was the unify-

ing influence of the Roman Catholic Church, with which the casual and diminishing part played by the Protestant groups in the Southern United States offers no comparison." Negroes from the Portuguese colony of Angola were baptized before being placed on the slave ships and the law required that all other slaves be taught certain prayers and baptized within a year after arrival from Africa. Children of slaves were christened and taught the catechism. All large plantations were supplied with chapels and priests. The slaves had their religious societies and were buried in consecrated ground. The priest was "a counselor whose influence was largely for the good, and a friend to whom the negro could appeal for protection against injustice; for the kindness of the Brazilian clergy to their own slaves was proverbial." The following practice should also be noted. "Standing before his master [before retiring], the bondsman uttered the words, 'I beseech your blessing in the name of our Lord Jesus'; whereupon the master replied, 'The Lord Jesus Christ bless you forever'".

One of the books we should like to see written in a popular style for American Catholics is a series of biographical sketches of the Popes who have reigned during the past century and a half of the American Church since the appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States in 1784—Pius VI (1775-1799), Pius VII (1800-1823), Leo XII (1823-1829), Pius VIII (1829-1830), Gregory XVI (1831-1846) Pius IX (1846-1878), Leo XIII (1878-1903), Pius X (1903-1914), Benedict XV (1914-1922), and Pius XI whose pontificate began on February 6, 1922.

A delightful style and his customary appreciation of the work of the friars characterize Professor Herbert E. Bolton's address on Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands, delivered at the Boulder Conference on the history of the Trans-Mississippi West, June, 1929, which has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the conference, 1930.

The *New Mexico Historical Review* for July prints the Royal Order of 1620, to Fray Esteban de Perea, which throws light on the disagreement between ecclesiastical and civil authorities of that time. This issue also continues A. F. Bandelier's Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico.

Mid-America for July prints a timely article on the Martyrs of New France, by Georges Rigault. In the same issue is the Winnebago Mission, a *Cause Celèbrè*, by Matthias M. Hoffman, being an account of the struggle for spiritual control of these Indians; also a biographical sketch of Senator Thomas Henry Carter, by Laurence P. McHattie; and a note by Sister Mary Borgia, S.N.D., showing that the First Illinois Wheat was Introduced by the Jesuits.

The REVIEW congratulates the recently organized Iowa Catholic Historical Society on the birth of the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* which made its appearance in January. It is ably edited by Rev. M. M. Hoffman, with an associate board of seven, including Bruce E. Mahan whose work for the State Historical Society of Iowa, especially on the *Palimpsest*, is well known. The first issue of the Society's official organ carries a message from the president, Hon. Martin J. Wade; an article by the managing editor, entitled, "From Early Iowa to Boston"; a sketch of H. V. Gildea, Pioneer Church Builder, by Rev. C. F. Griffith; and a document section which illustrates the First Religious Ministration on the Site of the Present City of Sioux City, by Rt. Rev. Thomas J. McCarty.

The Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann, C.SS.R., arranged in alphabetical order with some notes to explain the text, features the March issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. Other contributions to this issue are: a continuation of the history of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, 1855-1928; a discussion as to Who Was the Father of Laymen's Retreats in the United States, by Rev. Joseph R. Stack, S.J.; and a brief statement of Retreat Houses in Old Mexico, by Father Dequorem, S.J.

At the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, held at Springfield May 8-9, Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., read a paper on Chicago under the French Regime. Among the papers read at the eleventh Indiana History Conference, Indianapolis, December 13-14, 1929, was one on Francis Vigo, intimate of Father Gibault, by Dorothy Riker; one on the spirit of La Salle, by Ross F. Lockridge; and another on John Elder, Pioneer Builder, by Kenneth Loucter.

Number 2 of the Iowa Monograph Series, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, is the *English River Congregation of the Church of the Brethren*, by Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, a study of this mission near South English, Iowa (pp. 107).

Writing in the June issue of the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, on the Spanish Naval Prisoners of War at Annapolis, 1898, P. H. Magruder, secretary of the U. S. Naval Academy, says: "Admiral Cervera's first voluntary act after his arrival at Annapolis was to attend mass at St. Mary's Catholic Church. He reached Annapolis Saturday night and attended early mass Sunday. Indeed, he spent most of his time in devotion. . . ." The article is illustrated with a picture of St. Mary's which is called the "shrine of the Spanish prisoners of war, which they visited each day".

What is likely to inspire one of our younger scholars to compose a

complete history of the Catholic Central Verein of America is the superb brochure, *Diamond Jubilee Celebration and Seventy-Fourth Annual Convention* of this society, held in Baltimore, August 17-20, 1930. The main outlines of this fuller history are very well depicted in the brochure. Frederick P. Kenkel, K.S.G., K.H.S., Director of the Central Bureau at St. Louis, Mo., has for years been collecting a library of Americana Catholica with special emphasis on those publications which contain data for the social history of the Church in this country.

Among the books published by Ferdinand Schöningh of Paderborn, Germany, in commemoration of the fifteenth centenary of St. Augustine, are: M. Deutschmann, *Spes unica,* a romance built upon the life of Hippo's great bishop; Edmund Stein, *Der heilige Augustin,* a collection of excerpts from the life and teaching of St. Augustine; Augustin Reul, *Die sittlichen Ideale des heiligen Augustinus,* containing the practical wisdom of his writings; Louis Bertrand, *Der heilige Augustin,* a short biographical sketch translated from the French; Paul Sommers, *Aurelius Augustinus, sein Werden und Wirken,* a brief biography of seventy-two pages; and a number of scriptural studies by Karl Adam and others based upon St. Augustine's works. The prices of all these books are reasonable.

BRIEF NOTICES

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *Proceedings*. Vol. 39, n. s., Part I. (Worcester, the Society, 1929, pp. 225.)

The contents embrace Dr. James A. Robertson's account of the Spanish Manuscripts of the Florida State Historical Society; Edward H. Thompson's description of Forty Years of Research and Exploration in Yucatan; Charles E. Park's study of the Development of the Clipper Ship; Matt B. Jones's Notes for a Bibliography of Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" and "Meat Out of the Eater"; and Waldo Lincoln's Bibliography of American Cookery Books, 1742-1860.

BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD, *The Organization of Medieval Christianity*. Berkshire Studies in European History. (New York, Henry Holt, 1929, pp. x, 105, $.85.)

This treatment scarcely meets the commendable purpose of the Berkshire Studies. The hypothesis of the book is derived from the work of Rudolf Sohm; its social scheme was suggested by the late Brooks Adams. Christianity is presented as a poetic, civil, and a *natural* religion. Its divine origin is nowhere suggested; miracles are considered merely as an aspect of the poetic nature of Christianity. The chapters deal with the Christian Life, the Church as a Religious Institution, and the Churches and Earthly Society. A sentence in the closing paragraph reads: "Modern society, dominated by the idea of corporation, is too well organized, individuals are too much at peace with one another to pay more than passing attention to the priest and his doleful warnings, on the one hand, or his promises of a celestial beatitude on the other."

BAUMGARTNER, REV. APPOLLINARIS, O.M.Cap., *Happiness in Holiness. A little Guide to Holiness for Members of the Third Order of St. Francis and for other Devout Souls*. (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1930, pp. 112.)

Adapted from the French of Rev. Joseph of Dreux, O.M.Cap. (1629-1671), with a striking preface by Dr. Charles Bruehl of Overbrook Seminary. The historical note runs through this little classic like a thread.

BERDROW, WILHELM, Editor, *Krupp: a Great Business Man Seen through His Letters*. Translated by E. W. Dickes. (New York, Lincoln MacVeagh, the Dial Press, 1930, pp. 416, $5.00.)

These letters, 1826-1887, edited and published at the request of the family and firm of Krupp, are disappointing in everything save what they tell of the business transactions of the business which, in a bankrupt condition, young Alfred inherited at the age of fourteen. The letters reveal little of the life of the writer beyond his comings and goings in the interest of the firm. Those to his wife show him in a playful mood, but for any biographical information we are entirely dependent upon the editor's notes with which the documents are interlarded. The references to Germany's political and military affairs

are few and insignificant. In the summer of 1870 Krupp promised, in the event of war with France, to supply steel guns to the value of a million thalers as a contribution to the country's war expenses. The letters are more valuable for their sociological illustration of the relations of the firm with the workers. In 1871 Krupp proposed the building of three class rooms for Catholic children and three for Protestant, as encouragement to the employees. Two years later he writes: "We can only do with undenominational schools. Let those who will not attend them stay outside; let those who bring up their children in the principle of interdenominational discord leave the Works." The book has no index.

BURKE, ROBERT BELLE, Translator, *Treatise on the Power and Utility of Moneys by Master Gabriel Biel of Speyer.* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930, pp. 39, $2.50.)

The author tells us in his interesting introduction that "the first work written exclusively on the subject of money was composed by Nicholas Oresme, bishop of Lisieux, in the fourteenth century." The second work of importance was the above treatise which is here beautifully and artistically reproduced in a limited edition. Biel, 1430-1495, studied at Heidelberg, held a pastoral charge at Mainz, identified himself with the work of the Brethren of the Common Life, and was later appointed professor of philosophy and theology in the University of Tübingen. In presenting his theme Biel "bases his reasoning on the broad principles of canon law, employs the language of formal logic in developing his subject, and draws conclusions that appeal to the common sense of the reader as sound in every particular".

BURNS, Sister MARY ALBANIA, of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statutes: a Study of Their Rhetorical Qualities and Form.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XXII. (Washington, the University, 1930, pp. viii, 123.)

The purpose of this dissertation is "to present the outstanding stylistic features . . . and to indicate to what extent these features have been affected by and are a product of the so-called Second Sophistic Period of Greek oratory".

CHINARD, GILBERT, Editor, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, *Houdon in America: a Collection of Documents in the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress.* With an Introduction by Francis Henry Taylor, Curator in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, etc. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. xxvi, 51, $3.50.)

This publication is Cahier IV of the Historical Documents of the Institut Français de Washington. The contents "deal mainly with Houdon's voyage to America, his statue of Washington, the project of an equestrian statue of the General, and the bust of Lafayette made by order of the Commonwealth of Virginia". Other documents concern "Houdon's distress after the Revolution and the belated settlement of his claim on Virginia for the statue of Washington". The volume is beautifully printed and contains ten handsome illustrations. Mr. Taylor notes in his introduction that the "cleverness" of

Houdon's wife in converting a statue of St. Scholastica into an allegorical figure of "Philosophy" saved her husband from the guillotine.

DAVIS, H. W. CARLESS, *The Age of Grey and Peel.* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. ix, 347. $5.00.)

A thoroughly scholarly study of English political party life and growth during the crucial years from 1765 to 1850. It will be of more value to the historian than to a student just at the beginning of a study of the period since it presupposes no inconsiderable knowledge of facts, theories, and men. Naturally, the greater emphasis is upon Grey and the Whigs rather than upon Peel and the Tories since the former have exerted a more lasting influence.

DENSMORE, FRANCES, *Pawnee Music.* Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 93. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1929, pp. xviii, 129, $.90.)

A study based upon research among members of the Skidi and Chaui bands near Pawnee, Oklahoma. The author concludes that there is no tribe in which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee.

DILLON, P. J., *The Fingal Road and Some of Those Who Travelled It.* (Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son, 1930, pp. viii, 99, 3s. 6d.)

Fingal is described by the author as the maritime strip of country that lies between Dublin and the Delvin River, two miles north of Balbriggan. These are whimsical and entertaining sketches of "a few of those who . . . have gone over it". The chapters are devoted to Cuchulainn, Colm Cille, Brian Boru, Silken Thomas, Shane O'Neill, Red Hugh O'Donnell, Hugh O'Neill, Cromwell, James II, the Men of '98, James Stephens, Parnell, and the Black-and-Tans.

DONNAN, ELIZABETH, Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.* Vol. I, 1441-1700. (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930, pp. x, 495.)

This new series of texts to be published by the Carnegie Institution gives fresh evidence of the invaluable service its historical section is contributing to students and workers in the field. Miss Donnan's three volumes, with Mrs. Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery*, published under the same auspices, will enable students of African slavery to approach the subject with a better understanding of the whole problem because of the light these works throw upon its economic and social phases.

Miss Donnan's first volume "deals with the traffic in slaves from the time it became a part of European commerce until the end of the seventeenth century". The documents illustrate the beginnings of African exploitation, the rivalries of European countries in that trade, the organization of commercial companies for its control, the struggle for Spanish-American markets, the methods employed in the traffic, and its effect upon English colonial policy. To the historian who will some day write the full story of the Catholic Church and slavery this volume will furnish some twenty pages of docu-

mentary material. Miss Donnan has edited her collection with scholarly thoroughness; her wide knowledge of the subject is further shown in two splendid introductions.

EASTON, EMILY, *Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer.* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1930, pp. ix, 399, $5.00.)

A well written volume drawn largely from Williams's own writings. It is interesting and authentic and though it contains nothing new, it will be of interest especially in connection with the centenary celebrations in Massachusetts. The first hundred pages descriptive of the London of Williams' boyhood and early manhood are interesting but hardly *ad rem.*

GARNER, JAMES WILFORD, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, and CAPEN, LOUISE IRVING, Ph. D., Instructor in Government and History, Barringer High School, Newark, N. J., *Our Government: Its Nature, Structure, and Functions.* (New York, etc., American Book Co., 1930, pp. xiv, 657.)

This text for high-school use impresses the reviewer as one of high excellence. It is designed to acquaint the pupils "with government as a living, developing institution, daily performing a great variety of services". The five parts of the treatise are devoted to: Government in General, State and Local Government, the National Government, Citizenship and Elections, and Territorial and International Relations. Especial pains have been taken in the selection and arrangement of teaching material to be found at the end of each chapter. There are short selected lists of general works and source books, two sets of questions designed to test the students' knowledge, their judgment, and power of independent thinking, and subjects for class debate or discussion. The illustrations really illustrate, and there are useful graphs, tables, etc. Teachers will find this a good text.

GIORDANI, IGINO, *La Prima Polemica Cristiana: Gli Apologeti Greci del Secondo Secolo.* (Turin, *Marietti*, 1930, pp. 160, 7 lire.)

Preceded by a well-selected bibliography of modern works on the subject, this short history of the Greek apologists of the second century deals with the five-fold opposition the nascent Church encountered before the year 200: as a Church, the Roman State; as a Faith, pagan philosophy; as teaching a basic monotheistic doctrine, idolatry; as Christianity, Judaism; and as an orthodox religion, Gnosticism. A succinct history of the earliest battleground of the Christian faith, based upon the latest patrological source-material.

HALLECK, REUBEN POST, M. A., LL. D., and FRANTZ, JULIETTE, M. A., *Makers of Our Nation.* (New York, etc., American Book Co., 1930, pp. v, 358.)

This is the second book of the Halleck American History series (see this REVIEW, XVI, 117). The story begins with the Revolutionary patriots and continues to the end of the World War. The same qualities of simplicity and concreteness which characterize the first volume are present in this second book.

HESSELTINE, WILLIAM BEST, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Chattanooga, *Civil War Prisons: a Study in War Psychology.* (Columbus, Ohio, Ohio State University Press, 1930, pp. xi, 290, $3.00.)

A discussion of so controversial a subject a decade ago would have done little good. Even today when the Grand Army of the Republic states in vehement terms that there will be no reunion with the Confederate Veterans this side of the grave, Professor Hesseltine need not expect quiet acceptance of his findings. The volume is based upon the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, the personal and polemical narratives of prison officials and prisoners, and the more important newspapers of both sections. The author's thesis is that in the early years of the war prisoners were well treated by their captors; but after the cessation of exchange under the cartel the southern prisons became crowded, a situation which because of growing poverty resulted in excessive suffering among these unfortunates. This state of affairs created the belief in the North that the prisoners were deliberately abused, so that in retaliation southern prisoners in northern prisons were also made to suffer. The author approaches his task in a scientific spirit; the result is a presentation of the subject that will probably satisfy all save those who will not cease fighting the Civil War this side of the grave.

HOEY, GEORGE WILLIAM PATRICK, S.S., St. Charles College, Catonsville, Md., *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of St. Gregory of Nyssa.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XXVI. (Privately printed, 1930, pp. xviii, 126.)

This dissertation aims "to do for the Bishop of Nyssa what has been done in the series by Father Dickinson's dissertation on the use of the optative mood in St. John Chrysostom".

HOWE, M. A. DEWOLFE, *Bristol, Rhode Island: a Town Biography.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. 172, $2.50.)

This is an attractive account of the author's native city, which this year celebrates its 250th anniversary. The pages devoted to the church history of the town narrate that the Episcopal bishop offered both to the Baptists and to the Catholic Bishop Cheverus the use of his church when they had no place to worship. Bishop Griswold's successor, John Bristed, was much more uncompromising according to the passages quoted from his sermons. The volume is well printed and appropriately illustrated.

LAHEY, G. F., S.J., *Gerard Manley Hopkins.* (Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. viii, 172, $3.00.)

This is "an attempt to complement the interesting, though necessarily limited knowledge of Gerard Manley Hopkins derived from the reading of his poetical works". There are also prose extracts.

LANGSAM, WALTER CONSUELO, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Columbia University, *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria.* Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of

Political Science of Columbia University, Number 324. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 241, $3.75.)

This scholarly study begins with the year 1806, when there began a regeneration of nationalism in Austria, and ends with 1815, which year witnessed the triumph of Metternich. The chapters treat of the Concept of Nationalism in Austria, Governmental Stimuli in 1809, the influence of the Printing Press and the Trend of Literary Activity, German Nationalism among the People, the War with France and After, the Wars of Liberation, and Metternich and the Fate of German Nationalism at the Congress of Vienna. An appendix prints the German texts of many poems referred to in the chapters; a good bibliography and index complete the volume. This worthy presentation of Austria's early German nationalism is a welcome addition to the studies that have been made of a similar growth in Prussia and other European areas, notably Spain.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Proceedings*. Vol. LXII. (Boston, the Society, pp. xv, 453.)

This volume covers the proceedings of the meetings, October, 1928–June, 1929. Among the many papers read and here printed are: a note on New England Catechisms, by W. C. Ford; Bradford's Portrayal of a Religious Revival, by Col. C. E. Banks; and a summary of the work by the Society's photostat, 1925-1929, by Mr. Ford, which lists several items of Catholic historical interest. There are also given (pp. 233-425) selections from the sources illustrating the *Founding of Massachusetts*, 1628-1631, embracing the Charter of Massachusetts Bay, the Cambridge Agreement, Higginson's *True Relation*, Higginson's *New England's Plantation*, the First Year of Winthrop's *Journal*, and the *Planters' Plea*.

MICHELSON, TRUMAN, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology*, II. Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 95. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1930, pp. 183, $ .75.)

This second part of these studies contains two papers: a Sketch of the Buffalo Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians, and Notes on the Great Sacred Pack of the Thunder Gens of the Fox Indians.

MUNRO, WILLIAM BENNETT, *The Constitution of the United States*. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. 196, $1.25.)

A competently written book aptly described by its sub-title, "a brief and general commentary."

MULLETT, CHARLES F., A.M., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Missouri, *Some Political Writings of James Otis*. In two parts. (University of Missouri Studies, July, October, 1929, pp. 176.)

A reprint, with notes, of the five "identified formal pamphlets written by Otis": *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay* (1762), *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764), *Considerations on Behalf of the Colonists in a Letter to a Noble Lord* (1765), *A Vindication of the British Colonies* (1765), and *Brief*

Remarks on the Defence of the Halifax Libel on the British-American Colonies (1765).

NOWAK, FRANK, Assistant Professor of History in Boston University, *Medieval Slavdom and the Rise of Russia.* Berkshire Studies in European History. (New York, Henry Holt, 1930, pp. xii, 132, $1.00.)

This is another of the small, useful books of the Berkshire series. The subject is well organized and admirably presented. The chapters treat of Medieval Slavdom, the Foundation of the Russian Empire, and Catherine the Great. There are also a pronouncing glossary and a short but well selected bibliography in which many recent titles appear.

O'BRIEN, Sister MARY BRIDGET, of the Sisters of Mercy, Grand Rapids, Mich., *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A. D.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XXI. (Washington, the University, 1930, pp. xv, 173.)

An attempt "to trace the beginning and the development of words through the various stages in their use as titles of address".

OGG, FREDERICK AUSTIN, *English Government and Politics.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929, pp. x, 783, $6.00.)

A really thoughtful study and thoroughly up to date. While the author is sympathetic and appreciative, he is not so blindly panegyrical as are all too many American authors on this topic. The chapter on local government is well written but quite inadequate. The study of the political parties is well done but Dr. Ogg is probably premature in forecasting the extinction of the Liberal party. There is an excellent chapter on imperial relations. There is an adequate index though no bibliography, authorities being amply cited in footnotes. Altogether an useful book.

PETRAN, ALEXIUS I, *De Relatione Juridica inter diversos Ritus in Ecclesia Catholica.* (Turin, Marietti, 1930, pp. 107, L. 6.)

A much-needed symposium on the juridic relations between the rites of the Latin Church and the various oriental Churches, and containing replies to the many vexing questions which arise in the western world over rights and privileges of oriental Catholics as well as over the change of rites. Also a complete list of these oriental Catholic Churches. Only the modern historical aspect of their status is dealt with. This little volume deserves an English translation.

PUCKETT, HUGH WILEY, *Germany's Women Go Forward.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. viii, 329, $4.50.)

This is a valuable contribution to the growing literature of woman's emancipation and her participation in the world's political, professional, and cultural life. There is a survey of early conditions among the women of Europe, especially of Germany; a discussion of the liberalizing influences of the French Revolution, the industrial revolution, and the upheavals of 1830, 1848, 1917, and 1918; an analysis of German philosophy as it touched the rights of woman; an account of the growth of organizations, including the Catholic German Women's Federation, established in 1903; a treatment of the newer

opportunities offered women in the schools and universities; and a statement of recent feminine action in politics and the professions, and in social service and reform. In the concluding chapter the author raises several questions that seem to make him doubt whether women have measured up to the opportunities offered during the ten years of their political freedom, a condition which he thinks must be met by greater coöperation with men.

QUAIFE, MILO M., Editor, *The Attainment of Statehood.* Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, Vol. XXIX; Constitutional Series, Vol. IV. (Evansville, Wis., Antes Press, 1928, pp. xiii, 965.)

The productivity and excellent editing of our state historical societies have put to shame the meagre and, too often, badly edited publications of the federal government. One of the most progressive of these state organizations is the State Historical Society of Wisconsin which, under the late Dr. Thwaites, began a programme of collecting and publication that was soon emulated by other societies. Schafer, Quaife, and Kellogg are names that stand for the highest quality of editorial work. The present large volume of source material concerns the movement of 1847-1848 which resulted in the admission of Wisconsin to the union. The documents have been made more valuable because of an appendix, supplied by Miss Kellogg, containing biographical sketches of the members of the convention.

SCHUYLER, ROBERT LIVINGSTON, Professor of History in Columbia University, *Parliament and the British Empire.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. vi, 279, $3.75.)

Students interested in the constitutional issue of the American Revolution have now two scholarly studies, the one upholding the justice of the colonial cause, the other maintaining the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies. A few years ago Professor C. H. McIlwain won the Pulitzer Prize with his *American Revolution: a Constitutional Interpretation*, the thesis of which is that the Bristish Parliament had no legal authority over any of the possessions outside the realm of England. Professor Schuyler's book is in the nature of a reply, and attempts to show the legality of parliamentary enactment for any or all parts of the British Empire. The treatment is legalistic and historical, and is well documented.

SCREMIN, LUIGI, *L'Educazione della Castità.* (Turin, Marietti, 1930, pp. 161, L. 6.)

A remarkably succinct study on an important subject. Contains a chapter on the historical background of Catholic practice in inculcating purity in the hearts of Catholic youth, and stresses the reticence of the present age with the "educazione diretta" of the medieval epoch, when, "la predicazione è essentialmente naturalistica". Practically all English writers of note on the subject are referred to.

STOCK, LEO FRANCIS, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America.* Vol. III, 1702-1727. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930, pp. xxvi, 571.)

An introduction of twenty-two pages gives a general account of most of the

matters covered by the text. There is, perhaps, less of Catholic interest than in the earlier volumes of the series. But there are documents concerning the proposal to exchange Saint Vallier, bishop of Quebec, who with his party of "two priests of quality, 13 missionaries and a Dominican, and Père Apollinaire, the chaplain", were taken prisoners by the English in July, 1703; and there are numerous records of acts providing for the transportation of "criminals" to America. For example, the act "to prevent the further growth of popery", passed in 1709 by the Irish Parliament, allowed merchants and masters of ships £5 sterling for the carrying of every Catholic to such of the West Indies as were not subject to the English crown. The nonconformist disorders in Carolina and the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the American colonies are also fully illustrated. The volume is abundantly annotated and well indexed.

TAYLOR, PAUL S., *Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District South Texas.* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1930, pp. 293-464 of the University's Publications in Economics, VI, 5.)

One of the several studies undertaken to show the nature of the Mexican migration. There is a table showing the place of baptism of 1165 Mexican residents of Dimmit County and of Crystal City, who were married in the Church, 1884-1928; and there is frequent reference to the religious question involved.

TAYLOR, T. U., M. C. E., Professor of Civil Engineering, Dean of the College of Engineering, University of Texas, *Silting of Reservoirs.* University of Texas Bulletin No. 3025. (Austin, the University, 1930, pp. 170.)

TEXAS, UNIVERSITY OF, *Studies in English*, No. 10. Bulletin No. 3026. (Austin, the University, 1930, pp. 154.)

THOMAS, BENJAMIN PLATT, Ph. D., Associate Professor of History, Birmingham-Southern College, *Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLVIII, No. 2. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. 185.)

A doctoral dissertation that shows wide reading and careful preparation. "Russo-American relations were usually most cordial when one or the other countries was at odds with England." The student of American history will probably find most interest in the chapters on the American Civil War and the Purchase of Russian America.

WAGNER, HENRY R., *Spanish Voyages to The Northwest Coast of America In the Sixteenth Century.* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1929, pp. viii, 571.)

An account of the voyages through the South Sea from Mexico to Lower California and to the Philippines made by the following explorers: Francisco Ulloa, Pedro de Alvarado. Francisco de Bolanos. Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, Alvaro de Mendana, Juan de la Isla and Francisco Gali, Pedro de Unamuno, Sabastián Rodríguez Cermeño and Sebastián Vizcaino. Of especial worth are the facsimiles and translations

of the manuscripts of the voyages of Cabrillo, Cermeño, Unamuno, the translation of the narrative of Ulloa's voyage and Father Antonio de la Ascension's account of the voyage of Vizcaino. There are nearly 200 pages of notes and appendix containing valuable bibliographical data, notes, photographs of sixteenth century maps and facsimiles of Mss.

WARMOTH, HENRY CLAY, *War, Politics and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana.* (New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. xiii, 285, $3.50.)

The author, who was governor of Louisiana, 1868-1873, though the head of the "carpet-bag" government of those years, is well qualified to write of its "stormy days". His private diary, his public and private correspondence, newspapers, public documents, and sundry secondary works were drawn upon for his narrative which is sprightly and full of incident. Governor Warmoth was present when the oath of office was administered to President Johnson in the Kirkwood Hotel, Washington, but unfortunately he fails to tell anything that would confirm or deny the rumors that persist concerning that occasion. The reference, also, to the disputed election of 1876, in which Louisiana played so vital a part, is disappointing in its brevity. The book is good reading; it prints a number of inaccessible documents, but there is no index.

WEST, RUTH, and WEST, WILLIS MASON, *The New World's Foundations in the Old* (1929, pp. xvi, 385, 13); *The Story of Our Country* (1930, pp. xxvi, 524, 60). (Boston, etc., Allyn and Bacon.)

The first title is an introduction to the study of elementary American history which attempts to show America's debt to old-world civilization. The second is an elementary textbook the purpose of which is to show "the steady growth of democracy, the swift development of culture, and the industrial progress of the last hundred years". Both texts are plentifully provided with teaching aids of the more progressive type, illustrations, maps, etc.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Some Aspects of International Intellectual Coöperation since the World War. W. G. Leland (*Advocate of Peace*, May). Lecture delivered at Catholic University.

The Color Problem and the Catholic Church. Sidney Dark (*Review of the Churches*, July).

Modern Franciscan Movements. J. O. Dobson (*Review of the Churches*, July).

Comment composer l'histoire d'un établissement hospitalier: sources et méthode. Léon Le Grand (*Revue d'Histoire de L'Église de France*, April-June).

Pentecost in Legend and History. N. Micklem (*Queen's Quarterly*, Spring).

Economic Messianism and the Teaching of Jesus. F. C. Grant (*Anglican Theological Review*, July).

The Origin of the Lord's Day. S. V. McCasland (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIX, pt. 1).

The Scope of Biblical Archaeology. R. P. Dougherty (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Midianite Elements in Hebrew Religion. L. E. Binns (*Journal of Theological Studies*, July).

Servus Servorum Dei. L. Levillain (*Moyen Age*, January-March).

Relics, Authentic and Spurious. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, July). III. The "Holy Shroud" of Turin.

The Religion of Pre-Historic Man (continued). A. D. Frenay, O. P. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, September).

A Crisis in the History of Israel. L. W. Batten (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIX, pt. 1).

The Rights and Revenues of the Tribe of Levi. J. A. Maynard (*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, January).

Notae de tempore compositionis libri Actuum Apostolorum. Stephanus Bihel, O.F.M. (*Antonianum*, July).

Incense and Poison Ordeals in the Ancient Orient. A. H. Godbey (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July).

The Parish Priest and His Flock as Depicted by the Councils of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. R. W. Collins (*Journal of Religion*, July).

The Gregorian Antiphonary of Silos and the Spanish Melody of the Lamentations. Casiano Rojo, O.S.B. (*Speculum*, July).

Fifteenth Centenary of Saint Augustine. F. E. Tourscher, O.S.A. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, August).

St. Augustine of Hippo. Bishop Shahan (*Catholic World*, August; *Missionary*, August, September).

The Ideal of St. Augustine. R. N. Flew (*London Quarterly Review*, July).

St. Dominic. Hilary Pepler (*Blackfriars*, August).

The Latin *Life* of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (continued). W. Telfer (*Journal of Theological Studies*, July).

St. Vincent de Paul (continued). H. F. Blunt (*Magnificat*, August).

Le Missioni Salesiane del Beato Giovanni Bosco (continued). Domenico Garneri (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, March).

The Churches of the Reformation. J. W. Hunkin (*Churchman*, July).

A Jewish Jesuit. A. F. Day (*Month*, July). John Baptist, grandson of Elijah Levita, grammarian.

Benedict XIII. Walter Gumbley, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, September).

The Vatican in a New Rôle. Hiram Motherwell (*World's Work*, September).

Dostoyevsky and Western Christianity. C. A. Manning (*Anglican Theological Review*, July).

The War on Religion in Russia. Nicholas Klepinin (*Slavonic Review*, March).

The Church in Iceland. Joscelyne Lechmere (*Blackfriars*, September).

De eerste Franciscaner-Missie op Java. C. Wessels (*Studiën*, February).

The Growing Cultural Importance of Spanish America. J. A. Robertson (*Pan-American Magazine*, August).

The Oldest University in America. C. E. Castañeda (*Hispania*, May). University of Mexico, 1553.

Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers. Winifred Johnston (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, March).

EUROPEAN

Le chapitre cathédral de Langres, III. Michel Le Grand (*Revue d'Histoire de L'Église de France*, April-June).

L'état des paroisses et des feux de 1328 (concluded). Ferdinand Lot (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, July-December, 1929).

La Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza, est-elle authentique? Henri Grégoire and M. A. Kugener (*Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, October-November, 1929).

Geschichte einer Exkommunikation. Stefan Grossman (*Tagebuch*, Jan. 4). The story of Joseph Wittig, professor in Breslau.

Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart (1738-1809) und seine Stellung in der theologischen Aufklärung des 18 Jhds. Gerhard Alberty (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLIX, 1).

De Schola Franciscana Erfordiensi saeculi XV (continued). Ludgerus Meier, O.F.M. (*Antonianum*, July).

Saint Emeric de Hongrie. Emile Horn (*Correspondant*, July 25).

Literary Gardens in the Rome of Leo X. Domenico Gnoli (*Nuova Antologia*, Jan. 16).

The Concordat in Italy, III. Michael Browne (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

The Slavs in Medieval History. Jaroslav Bidlo (*Slavonic Review*, June).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Newman and the Truth. E. B. Burgum (*Sewanee Review*, July–September).

Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397, IV. A. T. Bannister (*English Historical Review*, July).

Monastic Elections under Edward III. (*Essex Review*, July.)

Scenes and Incidents in Medieval Oxford. H. P. Palmer (*Holbrook Review*, April).

The Ancient Hospitals of the City of London. Charles Pendrill (*Contemporary Review*, July).

John Wesley: Scholar and Critic. L. B. Wright (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, July).

The Bible in Ireland, III, IV. E. J. Quigley (*Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, July, August).

The Abbé le Loutre. N. McL. Rogers (*Canadian Historical Review*, June). Vicar-general of Acadia and missionary to the Micmacs of Nova Scotia.

The Catholic Church in Queensland. E. M. O'Brien (*Australasian Catholic Record*, July).

UNITED STATES

New Light on the Origin of the American Indians. J. M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. (*Fortnightly Review*, St. Louis, September).

The Huguenot in America. Estelle Harris (*Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, August, September).

The Planting of the (Anglican) Church in Virginia. E. C. Chorley (*William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, July).

The Great Awakening in the New England and Middle Colonies. L. E. Brynestad (*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, June).

Roger Williams. M. E. Pearson (*Historical Collections of Essex Institute*, July).

A Source Book of Early Methodist History. W. K. Anderson (*Methodist Review*, July–August). Minutes of the American Methodist Conference, 1773-1794.

The Language Problem in the Swedish Churches on the Delaware. A. G. Weng (*Lutheran Church Quarterly*, July).

Morgan Edwards' Materials toward a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina. G. W. Paschal (*North Carolina Historical Review*, July).

The First Bishop of Buffalo. Ella M. E. Flick (*Catholic World*, August). John Timon.

The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier, 1789-1830. R. H. Johnson (*Lutheran Church Quarterly*, July).

Presbyterianism in Princeton, Indiana, from 1819 to 1930. R. A. Woods (*Indiana Magazine of History*, June).

Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee. H. J. Desmond (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June).

History of St. Francis Seminary, IV. Peter L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, July).

The First Bishop of Iowa. M. M. Hoffman (*Palimpsest*, August). Mathias Loras.

The Rise and Fall of the "Know-Nothings" in California (concluded). Peyton Hurt (*Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, June).

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

Rev. LIVARIUS OLIGER, O. F. M., Lector jubilatus of Church History and the History of the Franciscan Order in the International College of S. Antonio, Rome, and sometime (1911-1923) member of the College of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi. Editor of: *Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum auctore Fr. Angelo Clareno* (Quaracchi, 1912); *Documenta inedita historiam Fraticellorum spectantia* (Quaracchi, 1913); *Vita e Diarii del Card. Lorenzo Cozza* (Quaracchi, 1925). Contributor to many periodicals such as *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, Studi Francescani, Franziskanische Studien, Antonianum, Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.* He is now head of a commission for the continuation of Wadding's *Annales Minorum.*

Mrs. MARGARET BRENT DOWNING is a newspaper and magazine writer and has for years been a student of the early history of Maryland, particularly that part of it, the Ten Miles Square, now the capital of the United States. A member of the Columbia Historical Society, she has written for its *Records* a series of articles on the early Catholic and civil history of the District of Columbia, and has contributed on these subjects to various Catholic and secular periodicals, including the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

JAMES J. WALSH, born Archbald, Penna., April 12, 1865. Sisters School, Wilkes-Barre; St. John's College, Fordham; medical schools, Universities of Pennsylvania, Paris, Vienna, Berlin; adjunct professor of medicine, New York Polyclinic; dean and professor of nervous diseases and of the history of medicine, Fordham University. Author of some forty books including *The Popes and Science, History of Medicine in New York State* (five vols.), *The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries, The Century of Columbus, The World's Debt to the Catholic Church.* Former President of the American Catholic Historical Association; Knight Commander of St. Gregory; Laetare Medalist.

Rev. EDWIN RYAN, D. D., is a member of the Department of English Language and Literature at the Catholic University of America. He was for many years Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Dunwoodie Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y.; has written on Spanish-American history; has pursued investigations in Peru, Chile and Argentina, and is a frequent contributor to the REVIEW.

Father ZACARÍAS GARCÍA VILLADA, S. J., of Madrid, is one of the leading authorities on the ecclesiastical history of Spain. The first volume of his *Historia Eclesiastica de España* appeared last year; his *Methodología y Críticas Históricas* (Barcelona, 1921) has merited general acclaim; he is a frequent contributor to *Razon y Fé* and *Estudios Eclesiasticos*, and other historical periodicals.

The Rev. PHILIP J. FURLONG, Ph. D., is head of the Department of History in the Cathedral College, New York City, and the author of several excellent manuals of American History for the elementary and secondary schools.